

**BURIAL AND COMMEMORATION IN MEDIEVAL LONDON,
c. 1140-1540**

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I Christian Oliver Steer hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Dated:

Abstract

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the evidence, both surviving monuments and written records, for burial and commemoration in the medieval city of London. Much of London's ecclesiastical landscape – its parish churches, religious houses, and cathedral of St Paul's – was lost during the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the Great Fire of 1666. Almost all the city's monuments to the dead were destroyed, and little survives by way of material remains. This thesis will argue that the redevelopment of the city's churches in the fifteenth century also contributed to these losses. However, despite the loss of the physical tombs, much evidence has survived in the written records and through the chance finds of re-used brass memorials. This thesis has also made use of the surviving testamentary evidence, represented by some 550 wills, to demonstrate patterns of memorialization within the parish churches, St Paul's Cathedral, the friaries, and London's other religious houses, to demonstrate the preferences of particular social groups about where and how they wished to be remembered. Medieval tombs in the city of London were, however, only part of a much broader commemorative strategy which was concerned to secure intercession and remembrance as widely as possible.

Table of Contents

Map and Tables	5
Illustrations	6
Abbreviations	12
Acknowledgments	14
Introduction	18
Chapter 1: The Surviving Monuments from Medieval London	31
Chapter 2: The Written Record of London's Lost Tombs	44
Chapter 3: The Loss of London's Tombs	93
Chapter 4: The Parish Churches of London	114
Chapter 5: St Paul's Cathedral	161
Chapter 6: The Grey Friars	209
Chapter 7: The Other Mendicant Houses	255
Chapter 8: London's Religious Houses	293
Conclusion:	341
Appendices:	
1: Surviving memorials from the city of London, c. 1140-1540	346
2: The loss of tombs from the 1552 London inventories	352
3: London's parish churches and their tombs (by period)	359
4: London's parish churches and their tombs (by status)	364
5: The Brasses from St George	369
6: Bishops of London, their graves and tombs	371
Bibliography	373
Illustrations	399

Map

Map showing the religious institutions of medieval London discussed as case studies	22
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Tables

Table 1	Burials in St Paul's Cathedral, c. 1140-1540	167
Table 2	A breakdown of burials and tombs in the Grey Friars of London based on the burial entries in the <i>Register</i>	209
Table 3	Burials and Tombs in the Other Mendicant Houses of London	255
Table 4	Tombs from the Religious Houses of London c. 1140-1540	293
Table 5	The tombs from the church of the Hospital of St Bartholomew	310

Illustrations

Figure 1.1: Coffin lid, the churchyard of St Paul's Cathedral, c. 1250-c.1325, Museum of London. Photograph: John Schofield.

Figure 1.2: Effigy of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke (?) (d. 1219), The Temple. Photograph: author.

Figure 1.3: Effigy of a member of the Marshall family (?), The Temple. Photograph: author.

Figure 1.4: Retrospective effigy of the founder, Rahere (d. 1143x45), c. 1400 from the former Priory of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, now the parish church of St Bartholomew the Great. Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.

Figure 1.5: Alabaster effigy of John de Oteswich and his wife, c. 1400, formerly from St Martin Outwich and now in St Helen Bishopsgate. Photograph: author.

Figure 1.6: Incised slab for Godfrey le Troumpour, late thirteenth century, formerly from Guildhall Chapel, now Museum of London. Drawing from C. Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London, 1854), 100.

Figure 1.7: Incised slab to an unknown man, c. 1305 - c.1325, Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph: author.

Figure 1.8: Incised slab with restored eighteenth century (?) inlay to an unknown priest, early fourteenth century, All Hallows Barking. Photograph: author.

Figure 1.9: Indent of a civilian with his three wives, formerly Austin Friars, London. From F.A. Greenhill, 'Austin Friars, London', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 8:7 (1949), 337.

Figure 1.10: Brass of William Tong (d. 1389), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.

Figure 1.11: Brass of Robert Cotesbroke (d. 1393), St Helen Bishopsgate. Drawing by Thomas Fisher, Merchant Taylors Company, London.

Figure 1.12: Brass of Thomas Gilbert (d. 1483) and his wife, Alice (d. 1489), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: author.

Figure 1.13: Brass of Thomas Wylliams (d. 1495) and his wife, Margaret, St Helen Bishopsgate. Photograph: author.

Figure 1.14: The canopied tomb for John Croke (d. 1477) and his wife Margaret (d. 1491), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: John McEwan.

Figure 1.15: The canopied tomb for Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500) and his wife Katherine (d. 1508), St Helen Bishopsgate. Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.

Figure 1.16: The brass of Nicholas Leveson (d. 1539) and his wife Denys (d. 1560), St Andrew Cornhill. Photograph: author.

Figure 1.17: The brass of Sir Richard Hadon (d. 1516) and wives, St Olave Hart Street. Brass rubbing from Alfred Povah, *The annals of the parishes of St Olave Hart Street and Allhallows Staining, in the City of London* (London, 1894), 67.

Figure 1.18: Easter sepulchre of Joan Alfrey (d. 1525), St Helen Bishopsgate. Photograph: author.

Figure 2.1: The brass of Jane Wriothesley (d. after 1510), St Giles Cripplegate (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 84v).

Figure 2.2: The effigy of William, Viscount Beaumont (d. 1507), London Black Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 88v).

Figure 2.3: The effigy of Sir Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand (d. 1508), London Black Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 82r).

Figure 2.4: The effigy of Sir Stephen Jennings (d. 1523), London Grey Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 86r).

Figure 2.5: Burials and tombs from the nave of the Grey Friars (BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 303v).

Figure 2.6: An entry from the Grey Friars burial register recording the burials and tombs in the Chapel of the Apostles (BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 282r).

Figure 2.7: Map showing the extent of burial and commemoration in the London Grey Friars, taken from E.S.B. Shepherd, 'The Church of the Friars Minors in London' *Archaeological Journal*, 59 (1902).

Figure 2.8: Tomb of John of Gaunt (d. 1399) and his first wife Blanche, St Paul's Cathedral by William Sedgwick (BL, Additional MS 71474, f. 182v).

Figure 2.9: Tomb of John of Gaunt (d. 1399) and his first wife Blanche, St Paul's Cathedral by William Sedgwick (BL, Additional MS 71474, f.183r).

Figure 2.10: Tomb of John of Gaunt (d. 1399) and his first wife Blanche, St Paul's Cathedral by Wenceslaus Hollar (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 60.

Figure 2.11: Brass of Thomas de Eure (d. 1400), Dean of St Paul's (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 45.

Figure 3.1: Palimpsest inscription to Leticia atte Wiche (d. 1361) formerly from St Martin Orgar, now at St Margaret, Rainham (Kent), on the reverse of James Donet, esquire (d. 1408). Rubbing: William Lack.

Figure 3.2: The brass of John Rushe, gentleman (d. 1498) at All Hallows Barking. Photograph: John McEwan.

Figure 3.3: The damaged brass of Ralph de Hengham (d. 1311), St Paul's Cathedral. Taken from Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble*, Camden Record Society, 97 (1868), 413.

Figure 3.4: The damaged brass of Robert Braybrooke (d. 1404), St Paul's Cathedral. Taken from Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble*, Camden Record Society, 97 (1868), 414.

Figure 3.5: Interior view of the Hospital of St Katherine by the Tower showing the tomb of John Holland, duke of Exeter (d. 1447) and two wives alongside a number of floor memorials, by John Carter, c. 1780 (Guildhall Library).

Figure 4.1: Brass of William Tong (d. 1389), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.

Figure 4.2: Brass of John Bacon (d. 1437) and his wife Joan, All Hallows Barking. Rubbing: Martin Stuchfield.

Figure 4.3: The canopied tomb for John Croke (d. 1477) and his wife Margaret (d. 1491), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: John McEwan.

Figure 5.1: Brass of Thomas de Eure (d. 1400), Dean of St Paul's (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 45.

Figure 5.2: Coffin lid, the churchyard of St Paul's Cathedral, c. 1250 - c.1325, Museum of London Photograph: John Schofield.

Figure 5.3: Tomb of Eustace de Fauconberg (right) (d. 1228) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 55.

Figure 5.4: Tomb of Roger Niger (d. 1241) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 58.

Figure 5.5: Brass of Robert Braybroke (d. 1404) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 57.

Figure 5.6: Brass of Robert Fitz-hugh (d. 1436) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 45.

Figure 5.7: Tomb of Thomas Kempe (d. 1489) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), between 28 and 29.

Figure 5.8: Brass of Ralph de Hengham (d. 1311) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 68.

Figure 5.9: Tombs for Kings Saebbi (d. 694) (left) and Ethelred (d. 1016) (right) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 64.

Figure 5.10: Tomb for John of Gaunt (d. 1399) and his first wife Blanche of Lancaster (d. 1368) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 60.

Figure 5.11: Tomb for Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln (d. 1311) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 57.

Figure 5.12: Tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, Lord Beauchamp of Warwick (d. 1360) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 38.

Figure 5.13: Tomb of Sir Richard Burley, K.G. (d. 1409) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 68.

Figure 6.1: Grave map from the London Grey Friars, taken from E.B.S. Shepherd, 'The Church of the Friars Minor', *Archaeological Journal*, 59 (1902).

Figure 6.2: Indent of Philip de Srepham, monk of Ely (c. 1300), London Grey Friars (Society of Antiquaries, London, London Red Portfolio, 2, f. 32).

Figure 6.3: The effigy of Sir Stephen Jennings (d. 1523), London Grey Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 86r).

Figure 6.4: Family tree of the Blount family.

Figure 7.1: The effigy of William, Viscount Beaumont (d. 1507), London Black Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 88v).

Figure 7.2: The effigy of Sir Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand (d. 1508), London Black Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 82r).

Figure 8.1: The Panorama of London c. 1544 by Anthony van den Wyngaerde reproduced from the London Topographical Society, 151 (1996), drawing 9.

Figure 8.2: Brass of Walter Curson (d. 1527) and his wife Isabel, St Mary the Virgin, Waterperry (Oxfordshire) which reused the brass of Simon (d. 1442) and Margaret (d. 1442) Kemp otherwise Camp. Photograph: author.

Figure 8.3: The brass of William (d. 1439) and Alice (d. 1479) Markeby, Hospital of St Bartholomew (now the parish church of St Bartholomew the Less). Photograph: author.

Abbreviations

Barron and Davies	<i>The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex</i> , ed. C.M. Barron and M. Davies (London, 2007)
Benolt 1	College of Arms, MS A17
Benolt 2	College of Arms, MS CGY 647
BL	British Library
CM	<i>Church Monuments: Journal of the Church Monuments Society</i>
CP	G.E. Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i> , ed. V. Gibbs et al. (12 vols, 1910–59)
Dugdale (1658)	<i>The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London: from its foundation until these times: extracted out of original charters. Records. Leiger books, and other manuscripts.</i> (London, 1818 edition)
Grey Friars Register	<i>The Grey Friars of London their History with the Register of the Convent and an Appendix of Documents</i> , ed. C.L. Kingsford (Aberdeen, 1915)
Heralds and Heraldry	<i>Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages</i> , Sir Anthony Wagner (Oxford, 1939)
HW	<i>Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Hustings, London, A.D. 1258-A.D. 1688</i> , ed. R.R. Sharpe, 2 vols (London, 1889-90)
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , eds H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford, 2004)
Stow's Survey (1603)	<i>A Survey of London by John Stow</i> , ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908)
Stow's Survey (1633)	<i>The Survey of London</i> , ed. A. Munday (London, 1633)
Stow's Survey (1720)	<i>A Survey of the Cities of London & Westminster: containing the original, antiquity, increase, modern</i>

estate and government of these cities, ed. J. Strype
(London 1720)

TMBS

Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society

TNA:PRO

The National Archives (Public Record Office), Kew

Weever (1631)

Antient funeral monuments of Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands; with the dissolved monuments therein contained; their founders, and what eminent persons have been therein interred. As also the death and burial of certain of the blood royal, nobility and gentry of these Kingdoms, emtombed in foreign nations, John Weever (London, 1631)

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In memory of Dorothy Joan Steer

‘Grandma at Cold Ash’

(1926-99)

Introduction

I don't know whether it is that I am built wrong, but I never did seem to hanker after tombstones myself. I know that the proper thing to do, when you get to a village or town, is to rush off to the churchyard, and enjoy the graves; but it is a recreation that I always deny myself. I take no interest in creeping around dim and chilly churches behind wheezy old men, and reading epitaphs. Not even the sight of a bit of cracked brass let into a stone affords me what I call real happiness.¹

The fictitious narrator of *Three Men in a Boat* evidently had little time for the study of church monuments. But this is nothing more than satire and we know from a wealth of publications during the nineteenth century that there was an avid enthusiasm for hankering after tombstones and creeping around churches.² Subsequent articles and studies, predominantly from the latter half of the twentieth-century, have re-evaluated our understanding of medieval remembrance with seminal works on the dating and identification of workshops, patterns of memory and commemoration together with focussed discussions on particular features of tombs and brasses.³ This enthusiasm persists today.

¹ J.K. Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat* (Penguin edition, London, 2004), 54.

² C. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817), C. Boutell, *The Monumental Brasses of England* (London, 1849), H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1861) and H. Macklin, *Monumental Brasses* (London, 1890).

³ The ground-breaking work by John Kent identified a number of similarities in the design of monumental brasses which led to a new categorisation, see J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses: a New Classification of Military Effigies, c. 1360-c. 1485', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 12 (1949), 70-99. See also, R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design, c. 1420-85', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 131 (1978), 50-78. Other important twentieth century studies on church monuments and brasses include, H.H. Trivick, *The Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1969); F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs* (London, 1976); M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols (London, 1977); M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978); J. Paige-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols (London, 1980); H.A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980); J. Coales, ed., *The English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350* (London, 1987), J. Bertram, ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996), S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and*

Research continues and with many publications focussing on specific regional, national case studies, together with an increasing awareness of broader questions of 'memoria' which is leading to new ways in which we think about medieval attitudes towards strategies of remembrance.⁴

And yet there has been relatively little study of urban commemoration during the Middle Ages.⁵ In part this is because of a much greater loss of monuments in towns and cities than in rural parishes and a paucity of written accounts and descriptions for these lost tombs.⁶ Surviving burial lists are rare

Brasses from the London Marblers (London, 1999) and J. Page-Phillips, *Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth Century Workshop* (London, 1999).

⁴ Recent regional studies include, J. Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration* (Oxford, 2000), N. Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), J. Bertram, ed., *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St Ledgers* (London, 2006), P. Cockerham, *Continuity and Change: Memorialisation and the Cornish Funeral Monument Industry 1497-1660* (Oxford, 2006), and S. Badham and P. Cockerham, eds, *'The beste and fairest of al Lincolnshire': The Church of St Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments* (Oxford, 2012). More general works include, N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, eds, *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010). Elsewhere scholars, such as Charlotte Stanford, have reviewed the way in which we think of the broader question of commemoration and memory, see C.A. Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg: The Cathedral's Book of Donors and its Use (1320-1521)*, (Farnham, 2011). Comparable studies continue through the Medieval Memoria Online (MeMO) project in the Netherlands, see <http://mmr.let.uu.nl/> and R. de Weijert, K. Ragetli, A.-J. Bijsterveld and J. van Arents eds, *Living Memoria: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren* (Hilversum, 2011).

⁵ Studies on urban tomb commemoration in English towns are limited, see Badham and Cockerham, *'The beste and fairest of al Lincolnshire'* for medieval Boston, and N. Saul, 'The Medieval Monuments of St Mary's, Barton on Humber' in M. Davies and A. Prescott, eds, *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron* (Donington, 2008), 265-271. For medieval York, see C.M. Barnett, 'Memorials and Commemoration in the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York', 2 vols, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York (1997). Dr Barnett draws on this material in her article, 'Commemoration in the Parish Church: Identity and Social Class in Late Medieval York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 72 (2000), 73-92.

⁶ The best reference for lost monuments remains, J. Bertram, *Lost Brasses* (Newton Abbot, 1976), 11-42. See also, Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 48-57; P. Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007), 4-52; P. Lindley, 'Disrespect for the dead?' The destruction of tomb monuments in mid-sixteenth –

although one such account has survived from the Coventry Grey Friars. This records 158 burials and tombs for important benefactors and patrons of this particular mendicant house and which, it has been suggested, was made during the fifteenth century.⁷ There is another such list written about 1428 for St Albans Abbey and this was evidently completed by one of the monks. This important document reveals that many tombs from the Abbey had already been lost during earlier repaving and rebuilding activities. It was the impermanence of the St Albans tomb monuments which led the anonymous monk to record what was left.⁸

There is an apparent dearth of burial lists from other urban environments, yet this is balanced by an abundance of different records for the city of London. Collectively these accounts list a number of different burials and tombs from the parish churches, friaries and religious houses within the city wards and, of course, those from old St Paul's Cathedral. These are important written sources because London, like other English towns and cities, has very few medieval memorials surviving in the city churches. It is the purpose of this thesis to study the various written sources alongside the few surviving monuments, both extant and reused, to reassess the range of burial practices and commemoration in London.

century England', *CM*, 14 (2004), 53-78; and J. Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003).

⁷ BL, MS Harley 6033. This burial list was published in I. Soden, *Coventry: The Hidden History* (Stroud, 2005), 67-71 and is discussed further in P. Coss, *The Foundations of Gentry Life: The Multons of Frampton and their World 1270-1370* (Oxford, 2010), 154-163.

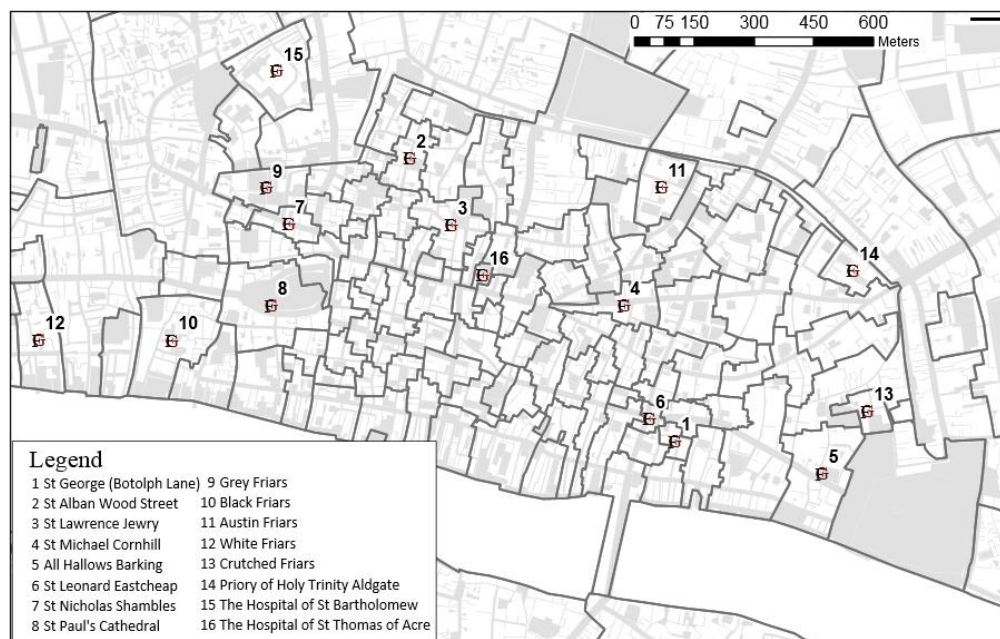
⁸ R. Lloyd, *An Account of the Altars, Monuments and Tombs Existing A.D. 1428 in Saint Alban's Abbey* (St Albans, 1873).

The period for study is defined from c. 1140, the date of the earliest surviving evidence for monuments in medieval London, until 1540 at which point the city monasteries had surrendered to the Crown and wide-spread destruction of tombs had begun.

Medieval London is defined here as the area of the city wards otherwise known as the 'square mile' or the financial quarter of modern day London. This thesis does not include the Charterhouse nor the Priory of St John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell, to the north of the city, and neither does it include Westminster and Southwark. It is the area within the mayor's jurisdiction. The religious institutions discussed in this thesis are indicated on the map.

Memorials in London could take many different forms. Many of the references in the written sources do not adequately describe the exact nature of these tombs, which are frequently referred to under headings such as 'Monuments, &c'. Nevertheless in many cases it has been possible to use descriptions from elsewhere in the text, or in other written accounts, together with inscriptions and references to the place of burial derived from wills, to suggest the likely type of monument in place over a particular grave. For example, the standard 'Hic iacet' opening phrase on many memorials almost certainly refers to the formulaic text found on monumental brasses and incised

slabs.⁹ Similarly, 'Orate pro anima' was likewise used predominantly on many flat memorials, especially brasses. Further, it can also be reasonably suggested that burials commemorated before particular altars or the Rood are likely to be flat monuments, probably brasses, otherwise they would have interfered with processions and the liturgy of the church. Wherever possible this thesis suggests the likely type of funerary monument in place but where this is not possible 'tomb' and 'monument' are used interchangeably.



Map showing the religious institutions of medieval London discussed as case studies

⁹ N. Rogers, 'Hic iacet ...: The Location of Monuments in Late Medieval Parish Churches', in C. Burgess and E. Duffy, eds, *The Parish in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2006), 261-281.

The data used in this thesis is taken from two different sources: material remains and written evidence. Several different types of monument have survived from medieval London, mainly from the parish churches, together with archaeological discoveries and occasionally there are instances of the reuse of city brasses as palimpsests in the provinces.

There are six principal written sources which contain lists of burials in London's churches. Two of these were written before the Reformation, namely the heralds' visitations and a register of burials from the Grey Friars.¹⁰ Later in the sixteenth century a number of other accounts were made: a list of tombs recorded in the church of St George in Botolph Lane; the *Survey of London* written by John Stow (1598), with subsequent editions by Anthony Munday (1633) and John Strype (1720); *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631) by John Weever and *A History of St Paul's Cathedral* (1658) by Sir William Dugdale.¹¹ These accounts record particular tombs which were of interest to the compiler and they also copied lists of monuments made by others. None of these records contains a definitive list of memorials from medieval London but their importance lies in their large number of recorded tombs. Weever had a particular interest in inscriptions so that we have many texts taken from epitaphs for London's dead, and Dugdale's publication also contains a number

¹⁰ The heralds' lists are College of Arms, MS A17 (henceforward known as Benolt 1) and College of Arms, MS CGY 647 (henceforward known as Benolt 2), BL, Additional MS 45131 and Merevale Hall, Dugdale MS 8, ff. 73r-77v printed in *Heralds and Heraldry*. For the purpose of this thesis the printed account has been used. For the Grey Friars see BL, Cotton MS Vitellius, F. XII and printed in C.L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915).

of illustrations of tombs and brasses from the Cathedral which would shortly perish in the fire of 1666.

A database has been built in Microsoft Access to record each tomb known from the material or written sources. Stow's *Survey of London* was taken as the principal source. This was used to identify the basic information available about a tomb which could be recorded in the database. Fields were included for details on any surviving will for the subject and any biographical and testamentary details for others included on the tomb. Each database entry is sourced.

There are five tables on the database. The main table is the 'Monument' table which contains a unique reference number for the entry which has been recorded. This table also contains a field for the type of monument which has been recorded. Because of the vagueness of some records, this has often been input simply as 'Monument'. In some cases it is possible to be more precise, for example, 'Effigy', 'Incised slab' or 'Monumental brass'. The next field is the place of burial, this being the name of the parish church, friary, religious house or Cathedral. The standard parish church names have been taken from the 'Key to Parish References' in Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding's, *A Survey of*

¹¹ LMA, MS 4791 f. 124 and published in S. Freeth, 'Brasses at St George Botolph Lane, London, in 1574', *TMBS*, 14:1 (1986), 69-71; Stow's *Survey* (1603), Stow's *Survey* (1633) and Stow's *Survey* (1720); Weever (1631) and Dugdale (1658).

*Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London before the Great Fire.*¹²

The name of the religious house has been standardised to those used in *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*.¹³ This entry is followed by a field for the city ward and then another field for the location of the tomb within the church. Typical locations, when provided, are before the High Altar, within certain chapels or near other tombs. Occasionally from wills we learn that the memorial was to be placed where the deceased used to sit.

A field on the condition of the tomb, whether surviving, lost, a palimpsest or an archaeological find, is followed by a field denoting the material. This has rarely been used because the fabric of the tomb was rarely recorded. The date of the monument is also included (where recorded): not all tombs were made at the time of death and there are several instances of retrospective monuments. Two further fields are tick boxes to indicate whether there is any iconography or an illustration of the monument. A subsequent field follows allowing free standing text to describe the iconography and/or to record the source of the illustration. There is another tick box to mark whether there is an inscription; two further text fields are included to record the text of the epitaph and for its language. The database was also built with a tick box to show whether there was an achievement or coat of arms but this has rarely been used since there are few recorded until the later sixteenth century. Similarly a field for the size of the tomb has rarely been completed. Sometimes the intended cost of the

¹² D. Keene and V. Harding, eds, *A Survey of Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London before the Great Fire*, London Record Society, 22 (1985), xvi-xix.

memorial is mentioned in a will and the next field is used for this but such references are rare. Finally, a free standing text box for other details is included. This is used, for example, to note any further information on the tomb, such as whether anything has been published about it.

The 'Monument' table is linked to two further tables in the database. The first is the 'Source' which records where each particular monument is mentioned in any of the six different sources. Sometimes this may be recorded in only one record; in other cases all the accounts refer to the tomb. The majority of entries are recorded in Stow's *Survey of London* and every reference from the 1603 edition was typed into the database first. Because Munday's additions were included in Strype's account, the 1720 edition was used to update the database with additional information on the memorials recorded in this edition of the *Survey*. A number of new entries, omitted by Stow and Munday, were also added. Each new monument is linked to its source; each new piece of information, which has been added to an existing entry, for example an inscription, has a flag to indicate which of the sources provided this new piece of information. In some cases Weever and Strype add the text of the inscription; on other occasions they record a different version of the epitaph, such as that for John Grey (d. 1424) at St Martin Vintry.¹⁴ In such cases both texts have been added to the database.

¹³ Barron and Davies.

¹⁴ Weever (1631), 406; Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol. 1, book 3, 9-10.

The second table linked to 'Monument' is one for 'Subject'. This records the person who was commemorated by the memorial. This table automatically updates the monument reference number onto the 'Subject' table in order accurately to record the biography of the deceased on to the correct tomb entry. There is also a new subject reference number which is used to link this table to other tables (discussed below). The next fields are for the surname, any variant or alias, and the Christian name of the deceased. Fields for their sex, date of death and age at death are also included. Frequently only the year of death was recorded (if at all). If the date of death has been found through the will, then this is the year which has been updated on to the database with a note that this was obtained through the date of probate. Some uncertainty on the accuracy of dates of death from certain sources has been noticed; for example Stow's use of dates in his entries did not necessarily refer to the date on the tomb but sometimes referred to the year of civic office.¹⁵ These have been checked. There are other occasions when the exact year of death cannot be found and for these instances the year is approximated either as, for example, 'c. 1473' or 'after 1473'. This dating makes it possible to include the entry in an approximate chronological timespan. Once this information has been added, the database next asks for title, craft or status. Londoners who served in civic office have been recorded by their craft and the office they served. Many references on tombs record 'gentleman' and 'esquires' without specifying whether these were members of the urban gentry, that is wealthy merchants who aspired to gentrification, lawyers, or if they were county squires visiting the city.

¹⁵ Chapter 2.

The 'Subject' table also records the existence of a will and whether there is a reference in the will, to the tomb. Searches have been made for wills for all of the entries input onto the database. The indexes for wills proved in the Court of Hustings, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Archdeaconry, Consistory and Commissary courts of London have been consulted.¹⁶ From this, 801 wills have been found for those commemorated in the city of London. Wills have made it possible to be more precise about the date of death (probate details) and about the craft. If the will has survived, this is marked in a tick box on the database with a separate entry for the reference. There is another tick box to mark whether the will contains any instructions or reference to the tomb; this is followed by a field which allows free standing texts to record a description of these instructions. A separate text box is included for those tombs which were made during the lifetime of the testator and which were referred to in the will. This third table concludes with another field for further information such as biographical details about the subject derived from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

The fourth table is for the 'Spouse' who may have been included alongside the subject on the tomb. The database automatically links this table to the unique monument reference number. A separate spouse reference number is also automatically generated. This table includes data very similar to that found in the 'Subject' table; this includes the surname, any variant, the Christian

¹⁶ Wills from the Archdeaconry and Commissary Court are referred under their former references of MS 9051 (Archdeaconry) and M 9171 (Commissary).

name, sex, date of death, status or occupation, and whether there is a will. This table also includes a tick box for whether the will contains instructions about the tomb, with a separate field for the further information on this. A field for further details concludes this table.

The final table is one designed for 'Other family'. This is often for children but sometimes other members of the family are included on the tomb. This table is automatically linked to the 'Monument' table and a separate identification number is given for the entry in this 'Other family' table. This table, like those for 'Subject' and 'Spouse', also contains fields for surname, variant name, Christian name, sex, date of death, the relationship to the subject, together with a tick box for a will, a field for the will reference, another tick box for any testamentary reference to the tomb and a separate field for the details on any tomb. Finally, a field for other details is included.

The purpose of this thesis is to collate the information on burial and commemoration recorded through the surviving material and in the principal written sources cited above and to ask a number of questions. Why, for example, were they made and what particular features of medieval commemoration in the city of London were important to their compilers? How complete a record of lost tombs are the records from these various lists? From the information provided by these accounts, which of the parish churches were popular choices of burial and why? And who wanted to be buried in the parish

church? Are there any differences between classes concerning the preferred location of burial? The importance of the large number of religious houses and friaries should not be overlooked and this thesis will also ask whether these institutions competed with, or complemented, burial with the city's parish churches. And what role did St Paul's Cathedral play in burial and commemorative choice? As the ecclesiastical 'heart beat' of the city, how did it pull or push lay and clerical burial and what can be said about the monuments within it? One further question to consider is the popularity of certain types of memorial: what can be said of this for London? Does the evidence suggest a broad range of tombs or were some more popular than others? And perhaps most importantly of all, how many monuments were there? Was London a city of the dead or not?

Chapter 1: The Surviving Monuments from Medieval London

In the city church of St Dunstan in the West, there are a number of sixteenth century monuments. These have been described as ‘nothing very spectacular, but varied, and rewarding close attention’.¹ Such an assessment could, perhaps, be applied to churches elsewhere in London because very few tombs have survived from the medieval city. There are a good range of examples at, for example, St Helen Bishopsgate and also a modest collection of brasses at All Hallows Barking. But they are few in number and a perambulation around the city churches does not give an adequate sense of the full extent of funerary monuments in medieval London. Some examples have survived and these are an important source when we consider not only the range of memorials used for commemoration in the city, but also what form of monument was popular, and when. They can also be used to show which types of monument were used by particular social groups rather than others. It is the purpose of this chapter to look at the material evidence available for the commemoration of London’s dead. This is to be found with extant memorials, chance archaeological finds and, where known, those brass monuments which were taken from city graves and reused elsewhere in the shires. We know about these through their subsequent reuse as palimpsests that is, by turning the original brass plate over and engraving a new memorial on the reverse for another patron. A summary of the surviving tombs, which includes these three categories, is in Appendix 1.

¹ S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London* (London, 1997), 216.

The earliest type of memorial was the cross slab. This was a relatively straightforward design in the shape of rectangular stone set over the grave, marked by a cross which could either be carved flat onto the stone or elevated (raised). It is rare to be able to identify the deceased because inscriptions, if they had accompanied the tomb, have worn away. This lack of identification seems to have made them particularly vulnerable in urban environments and there is no record of these from a London city church. Greater numbers of this form of monument have survived in the north, largely in rural areas, and archaeological evidence suggests that such slabs continued to be used until the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.² Crosses were also shown on coffin lids. The only known London example is the cross shaped coffin lid found on the north side of the ordinary churchyard at St Paul's Cathedral in 1841. This has been dated to c.1250-c.1325, **figure 1.1**.³

The rise of effigial monuments showing carved representations of the patron did not emerge in England until the twelfth century when they were largely used by the higher clergy and the aristocracy.⁴ Sculptured effigies, as tombs, continued to become increasingly fashionable during the thirteenth

² P. Askew, 'Early Medieval Purbeck Grave Slabs from Southwark', *CM*, 13 (1998), 15-16; A. McClain, 'Cross Slab Monuments in the Late Middle Ages: Patronage, Production, and Locality in Northern England' in S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, eds, *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010), 37-65. See also, N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages; History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 20-26, 40-44 and 60-63.

³ J. Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren* (Swindon, 2011), 167-168. This slab is now in LAARC, Eagle Wharf Road.

⁴ Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 26-35; S. Badham, 'Our Earliest English Effigies', *Church Monuments Society Newsletter*, 23:2 (2007/08), 9-13. Little is known on the format of royal tombs in England during the twelfth century. The surviving effigy of Robert, duke of Normandy (d. 1134) in Gloucester Abbey is a retrospective commission for a member of the royal family of c. 1260. The Angevins' appetite for a new taste in effigial monuments remains evident at their mausoleum in Fontevrault.

century for those who could afford them. The remains of what must have once been an impressive series of such effigies survive at the Temple Church. These are thought to include members of the Marshall family including William Marshall (d. 1219), earl of Pembroke, which show the aristocracy's taste for such eye-catching and impressive monuments, **figures 1.2 and 1.3**.⁵ An interest in such memorials continued throughout the medieval period and especially from the fourteenth century when alabaster was widely used in their manufacture.⁶ We know from a tomb contract for Sir Nicholas Loveyne (d. 1375) buried at the Cistercian New Abbey, otherwise known as St Mary Graces, that he was to be commemorated with an alabaster effigy and this was to be made by the London marbler, Henry Lakenham.⁷ Elsewhere in London, other examples of sculptured effigies survive at the former Priory of St Bartholomew, Smithfield (now the parish church of St Bartholomew the Great) for their founder, Rahere (d. 1143x45). This is a retrospective commission of c. 1400, **figure 1.4**. And at about the same date, another such tomb was prepared for the apparently wealthy merchant, John de Oteswich and his wife at St Martin Outwich. This is an important survival of an urban merchant who was able to afford an effigial monument and to copy aristocratic and clerical tastes for an impressive alabaster sculpture for himself and for his wife, **figure 1.5**.

⁵ P.J. Lankester, 'The Thirteenth-Century Military Effigies in the Temple Church' in R. Griffith-Jones and D. Park, eds, *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art* (Woodbridge, 2010), 93-134. See also, H.A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980).

⁶ Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 66-71; S. Badham, 'What Constituted a 'Workshop' and How Did Workshops Operate? Some Problems and Questions', in Badham and Oosterwijk, *Tomb Monuments*, 12-36, esp. 18-22.

⁷ J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, Marbler of London, and a Tomb Contract of 1376', *Antiquaries Journal*, 60 (1980), 66-74.

Not everyone could afford such tombs and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, incised slabs developed in popularity alongside effigial monuments. These were flat memorials with an inscription, and sometimes an effigy or symbol representing the deceased, carved onto the stone.⁸ They were the successor to the cross slab but with more detail. Often the name of the deceased with (sometimes) their date of death was carved as a marginal inscription around the edge of the slab. This was the very basic form of an incised slab but other examples could contain a figure, or half-figure, of the subject in the centre of the memorial. Such figures were almost always shown at prayer. These effigies and half-effigies could also be accompanied by a cross; likewise there are also instances where slabs contained an incised cross, with an inscription, but without a figure. These monuments were adaptable to particular spending abilities and tastes. But because incised slabs were laid over or near to the grave they were particularly prone to loss through natural wear and tear. There is some evidence of their use in medieval London. One such example is the coffin shaped slab for the trumpeter, Godfrey le Troumpour dated to the late thirteenth century, **figure 1.6**.⁹ There is no effigy of Godfrey but instead the slab, surrounded by a marginal Norman-French inscription, contains a cross flanked by two trumpets to indicate his occupation. This was found on the site of the Guildhall Chapel where Godfrey was presumably buried.¹⁰ A later slab of an unknown civilian man dated to c.1305 - c.1325, **figure 1.7**, was found on the site of the parish church of St Christopher-le-Stocks and shows this

⁸ Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 73-76; S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers* (London, 1999), 14-22; S. Badham, 'A new feire peynted stone': medieval English incised slabs?', *CM*, 19 (2004), 20-52.

⁹ This slab is in the collection of the Museum of London.

Londoner at prayer. The part of the stone which may have contained an inscription has broken off but he was evidently a Londoner of some status to be able to afford a figure of himself on his memorial.¹¹

Incised slabs could sometimes have the carved incision filled in with enamel or a metal alloy. Individual pieces of Lombardic lettering are sometimes found during excavations and through chance by metal detectors.¹² The choice of a copper or brass alloy in the lettering of floor slabs, shows another adaptation by the marblers who made these memorials to meet the tastes of their patrons. Several examples have, for example, survived at Boston (Lincolnshire) where such inlay was used to show particular features of the slab.¹³ Only one example of this practice has been found from medieval London and this is at All Hallows Barking, **figure 1.8**. The design appears to show the (now) very faint outline of an incised priest under a canopy which has been dated to the early fourteenth century.¹⁴ There are inlays for the hands, head and two censing angels. It is questionable whether the brass inlays are original and this may be the result of eighteenth-century restoration. Their current state, set in cement, is the result of post-War restoration.

¹⁰ Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs*, 134-135.

¹¹ Ibid, 72-74. This is currently on display in the Victoria and Albert Museum (2013).

¹² One recent urban find was of Lombardic lettering discovered during an excavation on the site of the Grey Friars convent at Leicester, M. Symonds and C. Hilts, 'Richard III: The search for the last Plantagenet King', *Current Archaeology*, 272 (November 2012). See also [W. Lack], 'The Portable Antiquaries Scheme', *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society*, 118 (October 2011), 354-355.

¹³ P. Cockerham, 'Incised slab commissions in fourteenth century Boston', in S. Badham and P. Cockerham, *'The beste and fairest of al Lincolnshire': The Church of St Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments* (Oxford, 2012), 74-99.

¹⁴ I am indebted to Stephen Freeth for his observations on this memorial.

The most popular form of memorial was the monumental brass. These were products of the London workshops which had also made incised slabs and were an evolution of this earlier type of memorial to meet new production skills and the demands of clients. Brasses were highly adaptable: the customer could order an effigy of him or herself, with or without a spouse, with or without children, with a marginal inscription and/or an inscription beneath their feet, with heraldry or with other symbolism to meet their tastes (for example representations of the four evangelists were particularly popular at the corners of marginal inscriptions). Because the brass plate was separate and was indented into the marble slab, the consumers were able to choose whatever they wanted. And because of their ease of manufacture, template designs were maintained from which similar designs were subsequently used for other patrons. About 8,000 brasses survive in England although only seventeen of these are from burials in the city of London.

Many of these brasses were set on the floor as grave markers and an impressive series of forty indents had survived from the former Austin Friars in the Dutch Reformed Church up until the Second World War. These indents, the “shadows” of former brasses, remained extant on the floor of the church until they were lost during bombing in October 1940. Fortunately these had been rubbed by Frank Greenhill during the 1920s. In his account of these, Greenhill recorded one slab with a basic design showing the indent for a lost coat of arms; eighteen other indents contained effigies for the deceased and the

remaining twenty-one were for inscriptions without an effigy.¹⁵ The importance of these indents suggests that brasses from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were almost exclusively inscriptions and did not have an image of the patron. These indents also suggest that it was not until the late fifteenth century that effigies of the patrons became more customary, **see figure 1.9**. Elsewhere, palimpsests have become separated from their original slab and it is not clear whether those which were originally in London were just the inscription or were in fact accompanied by figure plate. The inscription which recorded Margery (d. 1432), wife of William Chamberlain, was taken from the London Grey Friars and used as a palimpsest for Arthur Cole, canon of Windsor (d. 1558) at Magdalen College, Oxford.¹⁶ But we do not know if an image of Margery formed part of the original composition.

For those brasses which remain in the city, the inscriptions for the vintner and former city M.P., William Tong (d. 1389) at All Hallows Barking and for Robert Cotesbroke, about whom little is known (d. 1393), suggest that both were commemorated with an inscription brass.¹⁷ For Tong's inscription was set around his arms but that for Cotesbroke was a straightforward inscription plate, **figures 1.10 and 1.11**. It is notable that both these late fourteenth century compositions were in French and that neither contained an effigy. These were cheaper than larger figure brasses which at the end of the fourteenth, and

¹⁵ F.A. Greenhill, 'Austin Friars, London', *TMBS*, 8:7 (1949), 330-341.

¹⁶ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols (London, 1980), i, 56-57.

¹⁷ For Tong see his entry in J.S.Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, eds, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, 4 vols (Stroud, 1992), iv, 632-634. I am grateful to Graham Javes for information on Tong. See also TNA:PRO, PROB 11/1 ff. 10r-11r

beginning of the early fifteenth centuries, cost approximately £10. It was not until the second half of the fifteenth century that the price dropped substantially to about £1 or £2.¹⁸ It is at this later date that we find larger numbers of effigial brasses in city churches such as, for example, the brass of the draper, Thomas Gilbert (d. 1483) and his widow, Alice (d. 1489), at All Hallows Barking, **figure 1.12**, and for the Middlesex gentleman, Thomas Wylliams (d. 1495) and his wife Margaret at St Helen Bishopsgate, **figure 1.13**.¹⁹

It was also in the late fifteenth century that brasses came to be used as part of much larger commemorative designs, such as the canopied tomb.²⁰ On these particular tombs, images of the deceased and their family were often placed on the back wall of the monument, and there are two extant examples of this design in city churches. One is for the alderman, John Croke (d. 1477), and his wife Margaret (d. 1491) at All Hallows Barking and another survives for the merchant taylor, Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500) and his wife Katherine (d. 1508) now in St Helen Bishopsgate, **figures 1.14 and 1.15**.²¹ Brass effigies could also be placed on chest tombs and were not necessarily floor or wall monuments. There are no surviving instances of this practice from medieval London although it is thought that the Leveson brass, **figure 1.16**, at St Andrew Cornhill has been moved from a tomb chest and placed onto the east wall in the north

(Tong) and LMA, MS 9171/1 f. 318r (Cotesbroke). Cotesbroke's status was not recorded in his will.

¹⁸ R.H. D'Elboux, 'Testamentary Brasses', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 29 (1949), 183-191 at 187-191.

¹⁹ Margaret's date of death was not recorded on the brass.

²⁰ B. Cherry, 'Some New Types of Late Medieval tombs in the London Area' in L. Grant, ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London* (London, 1990), 140-154.

²¹ This tomb was moved from its original setting in St Martin Outwich when the church was destroyed in 1874.

aisle of the church. It is also tempting to speculate that the surviving brass memorial for the mercer and former mayor, Sir Richard Haddon (d. 1516) may also be all that remains of a tomb chest lost from St Olave Hart Street, **figure 1.17**.

The final type of medieval memorial to be found in city churches is the Easter Sepulchre for Joan Alfrey (d. 1525), widow of William Ledys and Thomas Alfrey at St Helen Bishopsgate, **figure 1.18**. In her will Joan referred to the existence of this Easter Sepulchre which she had evidently caused to be made.²² This is in the former Nun's choir of St Helen's on the north wall at the east end of the church and it took the form of an altar tomb set into the wall.²³ The base shows a grill arrangement which formed a squint from the former sacristy. Above this is a recessed wall canopy with the possible indentation of a lost rectangular brass plate which may have contained an image of Joan together with an inscription but there is no record of what this was. Although the Alfrey example is the only one to have survived from medieval London, we know that others existed elsewhere in city churches because of testamentary references. John Saron, priest and parson of St Nicholas Olave (d. 1519), for instance, asked to be buried on the left side of Master Harry Wellows, who was parson between 1366 and 1392, in the choir of their church 'with a litill tombe for the resurreccion o[n] Ester day, or elles where itt shall Allmyghty Gd that I shall

²² TNA:PRO, PROB 11/22 f. 38r.

²³ This was a popular design for Easter Sepulchres in the sixteenth century, see P. Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, 1987), 39-42.

depart from this transitory world'.²⁴ For Saron, we know that he intended that his monument should also contain a brass inscription, perhaps similar to that thought to have been on the Alfrey Easter Sepulchre at St Helen Bishopsgate.

In total sixty-three surviving monuments have been found for burials in London churches and which are summarised in Appendix 1. What can be said about the testamentary evidence for their construction? Thirty-three wills (52%) have been found for the patrons of sixty-three tombs. The earliest is that of the M.P., William Tong in 1389, although he did not make any reference to a funerary monument.²⁵ Nor did Tong request any intercessory commemorations, such as a chantry or an obit, although he did leave a number of pious bequests for prayers such as 13s 4d to his chaplain Thomas. He also left money to purchase a lectionary for the use of the parishioners at All Hallows Barking (where he asked to be buried) and to the parish church at Higham Ferrers (Northamptonshire) where he had presumably been born. The parishioners at Higham Ferrers were to pray for his parents' souls. Tong's testamentary silence about his funerary monument is not uncommon. Of the thirty-three wills, only nine testators refer to a tomb in their will, viz., Sir John Crosby (d. 1475), the draper John Chittock (d. 1505), John Young, Master of the Rolls (d. 1516), Christopher Rawson, mercer (d. 1518), John Saron, parson of St Nicholas Olave (d. 1519), the gentleman Gerard Danet (d.1520), Joan Alfrey, widow (d.

²⁴ LMA, DL/C/0354 f. 41v., printed in I. Darlington, ed., *London Consistory Court Wills 1492-1547*, London Record Society, 3 (1967), 53-54.

²⁵ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/1 ff.10r-11r.

1525), Henry Dacres, alderman (d. 1536) and the former sheriff and mercer, Nicholas Leveson (d. 1539).²⁶

This is a surprisingly small number of testators, nine out of thirty-three (27%), who referred to a tomb in their will. In this small sample, we find that over half of them (five) referred to a tomb which was already in place. John Chittock, for instance, asked to be buried under the stone where his wife Elizabeth was buried in the Lady Chapel of St Margaret Lothbury;²⁷ likewise, Henry Dacre also asked to be buried with his wife, also called Elizabeth, near to the high altar of St Dunstan in the West, whose tomb Dacre had 'made at myn owne costes to the honour of almighty god and the blessed sacrament'.²⁸ This is a very small sample upon which to base any firm conclusions but it seems to suggest that many testators had already arranged for a tomb either for themselves or for a spouse with whom they wished to be buried. Others used their wills to set out their instructions concerning a monument. Sir John Crosby instructed his executors to:

Ordeyne and provide one honest tombe of marble to stand over the bodies of me and of the said Annys late my wife with scripture and images of me my saide late wife and my children to be made thereupon makynge memory of our persons and of the day and yere of my decesse and with all other things according unto our degrees.²⁹

²⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/6 ff. 182r-189v (Crosby), PROB 11/14 ff. 170v-171r (Chittock), PROB 11/18 f. 172r (Young), PROB 11/19 ff. 101r-102r (Rawson), LMA, DL/C/0354 f. 41v (Saron), TNA: PRO, PROB 11/20 ff. 7r-8v (Danet), PROB 11/22 ff. 38r-38v (Alfrey), PROB 11/27 f. 224r (Dacre) and PROB 11/27 ff. 250v-251v (Leveson).

²⁷ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/14 ff. 170v-171r.

²⁸ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/27 f. 224r.

²⁹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/6 ff. 182r-189v.

And yet such instructions were rare. Of the thirty-three testators who referred to their tomb, only four (12%) gave instructions for its construction only five (15%) mentioned a pre-existing monument when referring to their own burial arrangements. There were twenty-four (73%) testators who did not think it necessary to ask to be buried in a particular tomb nor to go to any lengths to organise one in their will. This suggests other arrangements for the construction of tombs: the testator may simply have left the family or executors to arrange what they thought most appropriate.

The sixty-three tombs which remain from medieval London are a broad collection of different forms of memorial used in the Middle Ages. The four tombs found by archaeologists show that London's early monuments were flat and evolved from cross slabs to incised slabs. The survival of the knightly effigies from the Temple Church shows how the aristocracy quickly came to adopt such monuments for themselves during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The later example of John de Oteswich shows how merchants came to copy these impressive sculptured tombs. But unsurprisingly, flat monuments – especially brasses – were popular in city churches. Constraints on space, the wealth of many patrons and proximity to the London workshops where brasses were made, probably influenced this. Of these extant memorials, thirty-five remain in parish churches although one, that of Gerard Danet (d. 1520), gentleman, and of his wife Mary (d. 1558) was apparently moved after the surrender of the house of the London Black Friars. It is likely that his widow, Mary, arranged this because she was also commemorated on the memorial. Not so fortunate were those commemorated by brasses which ended up as the

twenty-four palimpsests which we know about: these were removed from city churches and religious houses and used by sixteenth century marblers to make new memorials for wealthy country gentlemen. Yet their survival as palimpsests adds to our knowledge of late medieval commemoration from London and shows that many more medieval London tombs have survived, although no longer in their original location.

Chapter 2: The Written Record of London's Lost Tombs

There are six different accounts which collectively provide a record of the lost tombs from medieval London. Some of these are copies of others with later corrections, additions and comments. In order to present the information as succinctly as possible some of these multiple editions have been classed as one source rather than as individual records. Two accounts were composed before the Reformation and these are of particular importance in identifying the lost tomb monuments from London's religious houses. These are the heraldic visitations for London and a rare burial list which has survived from the Franciscan church in Newgate.¹

The earliest post-Reformation account is another burial list, made in 1574 by a churchwarden, George Clynt (d. 1606), for St George in Botolph Lane.² This is a rare occasion when a city church came to make a record of its internal set of brasses. Shortly after this record was made other accounts were published on London's funerary monuments. By the end of the sixteenth century the growth in antiquarian interest in the city, as elsewhere, led to the first major listing of London's extant and lost tombs. This was originally published in 1598

¹ The four heraldic records are considered as one source and are Benolt 1, ff. 1v-18v and Benolt 2, ff. 1r-46r, BL, Additional MS 45131 (also known as the Book of Funerals) and Merivale Hall, Dugdale MS. 8, ff.73-77v. The Merivale Hall manuscript contains the visitations made to the city of London by Thomas Hawley in 1530 and Thomas Benolt in 1534 which are printed as Appendix D in *Heralds and Heraldry*, 139-146. For the Merivale Hall manuscript the transcript printed by Sir Anthony Wagner has been used but for the other heraldic manuscripts the originals have been consulted. I take the opportunity to thank Nigel Ramsay for information on the College of Arms manuscripts and to Robert Yorke for his discussion of them. The Latin burial list from the London Grey Friars is BL, Cotton MS Vitellius, F. XII, ff. 274r-316r reprinted in *Grey Friars Register*, 70-144. A shorter list, in English, can be found in BL, Harley MS 6033, ff. 34r-36r.

² LMA, P69/GEO/A/001/MS04791-4792. A printed edition of this text is, S. Freeth, 'Brasses at St George Botolph Lane, London, in 1574', *TMBS*, 14:1 (1986), 69-71, from which the following references will be taken.

by John Stow (1525-1605) in *A Survey of London* and which was followed by a second edition in 1603.³ His unofficial literary executor, Anthony Munday (1560-1633) produced two further expanded editions and in 1720, John Strype (1643-1737) the noted ecclesiastical historian, produced another edition.⁴ Strype expanded Westminster and, like Munday before him, updated the section on the city of London.

Munday's associate, John Weever (1575/76-1632), an epigrammist, also became interested in church monuments and in particular in their epitaphs. In 1631 he published his *Ancient Funeral Monuments* which included a record of notable inscriptions in the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London and Norwich.⁵ The account for London contained many inscriptions and also added information on others by copying out the complete text from the inscription. Weever is therefore an important additional source to the information provided by the work of Stow, Munday and Strype.

The final account is the study by Sir William Dugdale (1605-86) on old St Paul's Cathedral, assisted by the draughtsman William Sedgwick. Dugdale was later helped by Wenceslaus Hollar who engraved the illustrations which were ultimately produced in Dugdale's *A History of St Paul's Cathedral*.⁶ This volume,

³ Stow's *Survey* (1603).

⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1633); Stow's *Survey* (1720).

⁵ Weever (1631).

⁶ Dugdale (1658).

published in 1658, became the only detailed record of the memorials from the old Cathedral.⁷

The Heralds' manuscripts

The earliest known record of burials and monuments from the city of London are the two manuscripts now in the College of Arms. Technically these were not visitations because they do not seem to have been formal inspections of erroneous coats of arms. Instead they recorded lists of monuments which were of interest during various visits to city churches and monasteries. They could best be considered as 'Church notes'. College of Arms MS A17 was written by the herald Thomas Benolt (d. 1534) at about the same time that he was appointed Windsor herald in 1504.⁸ This manuscript is referred to in this discussion as 'Benolt 1'. This list includes burials in the mendicant houses of Grey Friars, White Friars, Black Friars, Austin Friars, and Crutched Friars, twenty parish churches and seven religious houses within the city. Most of the burials predate 1505 which is when the list is thought to have been made. But for the entry at St Helen Bishopsgate a marginal entry on folio 15v. records a visit (although without naming who made it) to the church on 15 May 1530. A further ten burial entries were added. This suggests that the manuscript may have been of functional use although it is curious that later entries from other parish churches were not added. Elsewhere, corrections have been made to the text; for example, at the Austin Friars the burial of Richard Fitz-alan, earl of

⁷ Chapter 1. Some fragments have survived, see the contribution by N. Llewellyn, 'Post-Reformation monuments' in J. Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren* (Swindon, 2011), 187-193.

⁸ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 117-118. For Benolt see Robert Yorke's entry in, *ODNB*, 5, 165-166.

Arundel (ex. 1397) originally recorded him as the earl of Hertford as well as of Arundell, Surrey and Warren. 'Hertford' was crossed out.⁹ A similar entry for the parish church of St Giles Cripplegate was likewise corrected when the entry for William Friar was later amended by crossing out his Christian name but without providing the correct one.¹⁰ Nothing further is known about William Friar.

The second of these heraldic records is College of Arms MS CGY 647 which contains a mix of handwriting and has evidently been added to at different points in its history. For convenience this will be referred to as 'Benolt 2'. It is a much fuller version of Benolt 1, with numerous corrections and additions in the text and it also contains an index of burials. Benolt 2 recorded the location of many of the tombs; at the White Friars for example the monument for John Mowbray, earl of Nottingham (d. 1382), was noted in the middle of the choir.¹¹ Further detail is also provided about the series of high status burials from the choir of the Black Friars, for example, 'Item in the wall in the iiird arch lieth Dame Isabell wyff of sir Roger pigott erll marshal'.¹² This entry is for Isabel (d. after 1263), daughter of King William of Scotland and the estranged wife of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk (d. 1270). From this entry we are able to learn not only the location of the tomb of the countess but we also have an indication of its composition. Because the tomb was placed in a recessed arch, it may have been elevated with an effigy of the countess set upon it. The countess was herself the sister-in-law of the founder of the London Black Friars, Hubert de

⁹ Benolt 1, f. 8v.

¹⁰ Benolt 1, f. 15r.

¹¹ Benolt 2, f. 10r.

¹² Benolt 2, f. 12v.

Burgh, earl of Kent (d. 1243) which may account for her burial in a prestigious part of this convent.

The information contained in Benolt 2 is also specific about the types of memorials which were in place. John Norbery, esquire (d. 1433) was, for example, buried in an alabaster tomb at the Grey Friars.¹³ But of equal importance are a number of entries which record burials 'without a stone'. One instance is that for Eleanor Stanley (d. 1470/71), wife of Thomas, Lord Stanley, who was buried in the parish church of St James Garlickhithe. Her entry records 'The ladie Stanley moder to the lord straunge wtout a stone'.¹⁴ Lord Strange was her son, George Stanley (d. 1503), who was also buried in this church. Burial 'without a stone' perhaps suggests that the entry was copied from a table which contained a list of important burials in the church. It is also notable that Lady Stanley's son, Sir George, was not summoned to Parliament as Lord Strange until 1482, over ten years since his mother's death. Her status as the mother of this lord was likely to have been copied from an inscription. Whatever memorial was constructed for Lady Stanley it seems that it was not carried out immediately after her death.

Elsewhere at St Giles Cripplegate there are several additional entries made to Benolt 2 for members of the Wriothesley family. The change in handwriting suggests that these were made by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, himself Garter King of Arms (d. 1534).¹⁵ Amongst the new entries was the tomb of his father, John Writhe (d. 1504), also Garter King of Arms, which was described as

¹³ Benolt 2, f. 9v.

¹⁴ Benolt 2, f. 24r.

an elevated tomb in the choir. Sir Thomas also recorded the tomb for his first wife, Jane (d. after 1510) at the steps before the High Altar. There were also a number of new burial entries recorded from the church of the Holy Cross at the hospital of St Bartholomew in Smithfield. Fifteen other interments are mentioned, including the brass for William Markeby (d. 1439) and his wife Alice (d. 1479) which still survives in the church.¹⁶ Finally, Benolt 2 includes a further four additional city churches, St Michael Wood Street,¹⁷ St Benet Sherehog,¹⁸ St Pancras¹⁹ and St Antonin which were not noted in Benolt 1.²⁰ Amongst them was the monument for the mercer, John de Causton (d.1353) recorded at St Pancras.²¹ This is the only reference to his tomb to be found in any of the written records.

These are simply lists of names and record those commemorated on the tombs. Another account however was made in the early 1520s when Sir Thomas Wriothesley illustrated four tombs which were of particular interest to him. This is known as 'The Book of Funerals'.²² One of these was the memorial for his first wife, Jane, who was buried at St Giles Cripplegate and which shows her as a full length brass effigy with three heraldic coats of arms on either side of her, a foot inscription and nine children shown in the folds of her heraldic gown, **figure 2.1**.²³ This is a sumptuous composition and one which was either enamelled or painted as the illustration is shown in colour. Wriothesley recorded

¹⁵ Benolt 2, f. 35r.

¹⁶ Benolt 2, f. 42r.

¹⁷ Benolt 2, f. 44v.

¹⁸ Benolt 2, f. 45r.

¹⁹ Benolt 2, f. 45v.

²⁰ Benolt 2, f. 46r.

²¹ Benolt 2, f. 45v.

²² BL, Additional MS 45131.

²³ BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 84v.

two further tombs from the Black Friars which had caught his eye, those of William Beaumont (d. 1507), Viscount Beaumont and Sir Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand (d. 1508), **figures 2.2 and 2.3**.²⁴ These are sculptured, painted and rich in heraldry. It was evidently the heraldry which led Wriothesley to make these illustrations because the final one he made was for Sir Stephen Jennings (d. 1523) merchant taylor and mayor, who was buried at the Grey Friars. Jennings is shown recumbent at prayer, dressed in armour and the tomb chest is rich in heraldic arms, **figure 2.4**.²⁵

By the summer of 1530, the Earl Marshall had evidently decided that London's armigerous display was in need of a formal review.²⁶ It was Thomas Hawley (d. 1557), Carlisle Herald of Arms, who undertook the first formal visitation of London.²⁷ His purpose was made clear in the preamble:

To corecte, deface and take away all maner of Armes wrongfully borne, or being falce Armory; ore any markes of devyce put in Scochyns, Squares or Losenges; in Baners, Penons or Standers used agen the Lawes of oner ...²⁸

This visitation was not a complete record of all monuments and nor was it intended to be. The purpose was to remove wrongful arms and this is what Hawley did. His observations on the monuments are secondary and it is clear that he concentrated on the job at hand. In the case of the Grey Friars, Hawley only recorded the royal tombs he had seen, namely those for Queen Eleanor (d. 1291), Queen Margaret (d. 1317), Queen Isabella (d. 1358) and Queen Joan of

²⁴ BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 88v (Beaumont) and f. 82r (St Amand).

²⁵ BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 86r.

²⁶ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 139-146.

²⁷ For Hawley see the entry by Ann Payne in, *ODNB*, 25, 971-972.

Scotland (d. 1362). He also recorded the monument for the French nobleman, John, duke of Bourbon (d. 1433).²⁹ These tombs were evidently of particular interest to Hawley perhaps because they were rich in heraldry. In all, Hawley visited thirteen parish churches, chapels and religious houses, and old St Paul's, where he recorded twenty five tombs.³⁰ This is a very small number of monuments. Yet in each of these places, Hawley tells us that he defaced incorrect arms in accordance with the instructions he had been given. Unfortunately he did not name these incorrect arms. But this defacement provides another instance of the deliberate removal of commemorative features from the funerary monuments of London in the years preceding the Reformation.

A second visitation, included with that of Hawley, was made by Benolt on 27 March 1534 and it is very different in its format.³¹ There is no preamble setting out what his intentions were and he only included six churches and religious houses, all in the eastern part of the city, which are significantly fewer than those visited by his colleague Hawley. Benolt's account seems to be a record of only a single day's work. Given that Benolt died on 8 May 1534 (i.e. six weeks later), it may be that he was already ill and unable to complete his visitation. But in his one busy day, he visited six sites and recorded sixty

²⁸ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 139–146.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 140–141.

³⁰ Hawley recorded his visits (in this order) to, St Paul's Cathedral, 'the Chapell in the Church-Yoerd of Powles' (probably the Charnel Chapel), St Michael le Querne, Grey Friars, St Sepulchre, St Dunstan in the West, St Martin Ludgate, St Gregory, Black Friars, 'a chappell beside Powles (either St Augustine by St Paul or St Faith), Austin Friars, St Mary at Hill, St Dunstan in the East and New Abbey (St Mary Graces).

³¹ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 139–146.

tombs.³² He did not refer to any defacement or removal of false arms although this was probably his purpose. Benolt showed a greater interest than Hawley in genealogy. In the case of Sir Thomas Montgomery (d. 1495), Benolt noted the tomb for Sir Thomas and his two wives, Philippa (d. before 1494) and Lora (d. before 1501) in the Lady Chapel; another monument was noted for a daughter of Sir Thomas (but without naming her) and also for his sister, and heir, Alice (d. after 1489) the wife of Clement Spice of Black Notley (Essex).³³

The detail Benolt provided about these tombs also helps to conjecture their form. For example he referred to the tomb for Margaret, first wife of Sir Nicholas Loveyne (d. 1375) as 'in the flore lye's hys wyffe'.³⁴ This was in the south side of the choir and Benolt's description suggests that Lady Loveyne was buried under a marble stone probably with an effigy made of brass. We know that Sir Nicholas' own alabaster monument contained an effigy of him without either of his two wives, both of whom would be in need of their own memorial.³⁵ Benolt likewise offers a little detail on the burials at the Crutched Friars where, for instance, he mentioned the burial of the former sheriff and merchant taylor, Sir John Skevington (d. 1525) before the High Altar 'in a Tombe'.³⁶ This was almost certainly a flat memorial, an incised slab or

³² Benolt himself visited New Abbey, St Katherine's Hospital by the Tower, the Chapel in All Hallows Barking, Crutched Friars, St Botolph without Aldgate and St Olave Hart Street.

³³ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 143. These tombs are discussed further in I. Grainger and C. Phillpotts, *The Cistercian abbey of St Mary Graces, East Smithfield, London* (London, 2011), 106-110.

³⁴ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 143.

³⁵ J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, Marbler of London, and a Tomb Contract of 1376', *Antiquaries Journal* (60), 66-74. Loveyne's widow, Margaret, later married Sir John Devereux (d. 1393) and was buried with him, probably with sculptured effigies, in the London Grey Friars, *Grey Friars Register*, 105-106.

³⁶ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 145.

monumental brass, because anything else would have obscured the liturgy.³⁷ Benolt also referred to 'a Tombe of Marbull' for the 'former mayor', John Rofte, buried at the Crutched Friars.³⁸ This is probably a mistake because none called John Rofte had ever served the city as mayor. It is more likely to have been the memorial for the grocer John Rest (d. 1522) who served as mayor in 1516-17 and who we know wanted to be buried in the Crutched Friars, and whose tomb was later recorded by John Stow.³⁹ The closure of the religious houses, such as the Crutched Friars, very soon after the visitations makes these heraldic accounts an important source for London's medieval funerary commemoration.

The Grey Friars Burial List

The second pre-Reformation account of London's lost tombs is a list of burials and tombs from the Friars Minor and their convent in Newgate.⁴⁰ There is nothing comparable for any other London house, or parish church, from before the Reformation and this burial list is probably the most complete record of monuments for a London church.⁴¹

This manuscript formed part of the collection of Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) and was damaged in the fire of 1731. The upper left and right corners of

³⁷ The Skevington family had a particular interest in commissioning brass memorials for themselves, see C. Steer, 'better in remembrance': Medieval Commemoration at the Crutched Friars, London', *CM*, 25 (2010), 36-57.

³⁸ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 145.

³⁹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/21 ff. 17r-17v; Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 147.

⁴⁰ BL, Cotton MS Vitellius, F. 12, ff. 274r-316r. References from this document are taken from the printed edition by Charles Kingsford.

⁴¹ A similar document also survives for the Coventry Grey Friars in BL Harley 6033 which records a list of burial and tombs from c. 1230 until c. 1400. This list is printed in I. Soden, *Coventry: The Hidden History* (Stroud, 2005), 67-71 and discussed in P. Coss, *The Foundations of Gentry Life: The Multons of Frampton and their World, 1270-1370* (Oxford, 2010), 154-163.

each folio are singed but otherwise it is in a good condition. The burial list is written in Latin and begins with a list of interments in the choir; the first entry is for the heart burial of John Pecham (d. 1292), archbishop of Canterbury, himself a Franciscan.⁴² An analysis of the handwriting suggests that the register was originally compiled circa 1526 with later entries added in a different hand until about 1530. There are also some later additions after 1530: the latest entry recorded the burial of the Franciscan, John Willing, porter of the house, in the ambulatory. Friar John died on 8 August 1535.⁴³

The layout of the register suggests that it was intended to serve as an on-going account because there are spaces between the names recorded from the nave, **figure 2.5**. This was the largest part of the convent where in the 1520s there was still plenty of space available for interment. We also learn from some of the later burials, that in other parts of the convent, burial space was in demand: in the Chapel of St Mary, for example, the grave of Robert Bertram, Lord Bothal (d.c. 1363) was reused in 1533 for the burial of the London citizen and haberdasher, Stephen Lynne.⁴⁴ But as well as providing practical use about the availability of future grave sites, one of the distinctive features of the register is its rubrication. The names of the dead and their dates of death are in red while the rest of the text is in black. This suggests a second practical use for this register to enable the names of important benefactors to be read out on the anniversary of their death as happened elsewhere, as at Christ Church Priory,

⁴² *Grey Friars Register*, 70.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 104.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 81-82.

Canterbury.⁴⁵ Some heralds, and other visitors, would want to see particular tombs and this account may also have served as a primitive visitors' guide. We know that the London Grey Friars was well known and its proximity to the western entrance to the city meant that many are likely to have stopped there. A gentleman from Coventry, for instance, John Smith (d. 1500) had apparently visited because in his will he directed that his own tomb in the Coventry Grey Friars, was to be designed just like one he had seen in the London house.⁴⁶

In total this register lists 765 individuals in 684 tombs and records their names, status and date of death together with some further details probably taken from the inscriptions. By comparison the heraldic manuscripts record only 122 monuments, that is one fifth of the total number made by the anonymous friars who compiled the Grey Friars' own account.⁴⁷ This shows the selectivity of the heralds who were interested in certain features of the tombs they saw and consequently only recorded some of them. For example none of the tombs of the friars themselves were noted by the heralds and this is most likely because they did not contain any coats of arms. The memorial stone for Brother Henry Sedbar (d. 1489) in the cloister, for example, was not listed in any of the heraldic manuscripts but was noted in the Grey Friars list.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ M. Connor, 'Fifteenth-Century Monastic Obituaries: The Evidence of Christ Church Priory, Canterbury' in C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, eds., *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), 143-162. I am grateful to Elizabeth New for her discussion of this.

⁴⁶ TNA PRO PROB 11/13, ff. 47v-48v. I thank Nigel Saul for drawing my attention to this will. See my forthcoming 'lyke to A tombe in the Greyfreres of London': Burial and Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London', in Nick Holder, *The Medieval Friaries of London*.

⁴⁷ Benolt 1, Benolt 2 and BL, Harley MS 6033. The Harley manuscript is also known as the 'English List'.

⁴⁸ *Grey Friars Register*, 129.

The tombs and monuments are listed under sub headings for each chapel or burial location within the convent such as within the Choir, the Chapels, the Belfry or Walking-Place, before the Altars, in the Nave and in the Cloister, **figure 2.6**. They are also described in relation to each other and to other features of the friars' church. References such as 'at the foot of' and 'to the right of' are often noted. This is seen, for instance, in the case of John Wryght, citizen and goldsmith (d. 1513) who was buried to the right of the tomb of Ida de Segrave, in the Chapel of St Mary.⁴⁹ Several monuments are also located in relation to certain windows, altars and fixtures which are specifically referred in the register. In the Chapel of St Francis, for example, the tomb of John de Guynys was recorded 'In primis in parva capella sancti Francisci sub prima parte fenestre 4 iuxta murum in plano jacet Johannnes de Guynys', the tomb being in the area near the altar under the fourth window against the wall.⁵⁰ Such details enabled E.B.S. Shepherd to map the Grey Friars showing who was buried where, **figure 2.7**.⁵¹

Many of the entries describe the type of monument which was in place. In the Chapel of St Francis, for instance, there was a tomb for Sir John Robsard, K.G. (d. 1450) described as 'in parva tumba elevate de alabastro', a small raised tomb of alabaster.⁵² Elsewhere, references to 'magno lapide', such as the large stone for Sir Walter Wrottesley (d. 1473) also in the Chapel of St Francis, shows the popularity of flat, floor memorials which were convenient and

⁴⁹ Ibid, 83.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 92.

⁵¹ E. B. S. Shepherd 'The Church of the Friars Minors in London' *Archaeological Journal*, 59 (1902), 238–287.

⁵² *Grey Friars Register*, 93.

cheaper than raised alabaster tombs.⁵³ There were in fact at least 384 instances of incised slabs, or brasses, from the Grey Friars which shows the popularity of this form of monument in a city convent.

In his introductory remarks, Charles Kingsford noted that many of the entries from the register were copied directly from the inscriptions.⁵⁴ This is evident from an examination of these entries. Many are similar to that of William Anne (d. 1451) who was buried in the Chapel of St Mary:

Et ad dexteram [of the tomb of Henry Masse] eius jacet sub lapide Willelmus Anne, generosus de Grays Inne, filius et heres Alexandri Anne, Recordatoris civitatis Londonie; qui obiit 24 die mensis Decembris, Anno Domini 1451.⁵⁵

(And to the right [of the tomb of Henry Masse] lies under a stone, William Anne, gentleman of Greys Inn, son and heir of Alexander Anne, Recorder of the City of London, who died on the 24 day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1451)

This entry shows that Anne was buried under a stone (perhaps a brass) and that he was recorded as a gentleman of Grays Inn, the son and heir of Alexander Anne (d. 1439), Recorder of the City of London. Anne's date of death, Christmas Eve 1451, was also added. In his will Anne described himself as of North Aston (Oxfordshire) where he had a country estate, but he wished to be buried in the Friars Minor in the city.⁵⁶ It is notable that Anne was referred to as the son of the city's Recorder on his tombstone.

⁵³ Ibid, 93.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 6.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 86; for William Anne, see J.H. Baker, *The Men of Court 1440 to 1550: A Prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the Courts of Law*, 2 vols (London, 2012), i, 217.

The Grey Friars register contains a wealth of information on those buried and commemorated in this particular mendicant house. It is certainly the fullest account of any of London's lost religious houses or parish churches and because it was made before Henry VIII's break with Rome, it provides an invaluable window into urban commemoration.

The St George's Burial Register

In 1574, George Clynt, the parish clerk of St George recorded sixteen monumental brasses in the parish burial register. This was made in order 'to know what places be Free to bury in'.⁵⁷ This was probably not as complete an account as the earlier Grey Friars list because we know that at least one early brass from this city church was reused as a palimpsest. Richard Fitz-andrew, fishmonger (d. 1411) asked to be buried in the parish church of St George.⁵⁸ A palimpsest brass for Fitz-andrew and his wife Margaret was found on the back of a 1544 brass for Richard Thornton and his wife Alys in the church of Holy Cross, Great Greenford (Middlesex).⁵⁹ For the Fitz-andrew brass to have been reused from St George's by 1544 suggests that it had become loose and sold as unwanted church goods. Since sixteen brasses were recorded in 1574, it seems that this church escaped the iconoclasm of the Edwardian years. There are no references to any whole scale loss from this church and when writing in

⁵⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/1 f. 129v.

⁵⁷ Freeth, 'Brasses at St George', 69-71.

⁵⁸ LMA, MS 9171, f. 198v.

⁵⁹ Appendix 1.

1598, John Stow remarked that 'the Monuments for two hundred yeares past are well preserved from spoyle'.⁶⁰ It was a parish with conservative tastes.

In most instances Clynt recorded the names, occupations and dates of death. He recorded only one brass from the fourteenth century, that of Adam Bamme, goldsmith and mayor, (d. 1397) but with a further nine from the fifteenth century, viz., Nicholas Narpora (d. 1400), John Walkerton, gentleman (d. 1401), Richard Bamme, esquire and son of Adam (d. 1452), the fishmonger and former sheriff William Combes (d. 1452), Agnes, the daughter of Oliver Davye a goldsmith (d. 1479), John Stocker, alderman, another former sheriff and draper (d. 1485), Richard Dryland, gentleman (d. 1487) Michael Harris, draper (d. 1489) and his wife Alice, and Godfrey Oxenford (d. 1495).⁶¹ The entry for Alice Harris recorded her death in '14__' which suggests that she outlived her husband and either was not buried with him or her own year of death was simply not entered on to the inscription. The entries for Nicholas Narpora and Godfrey Oxenford did not note their craft and perhaps this was not included on their epitaph.⁶² It is from Oxenford's will that we learn he was a gentleman. Clynt appears to have been attentive to such detail elsewhere in his account and it is a surprising omission for these two memorials.

This list of brasses also recorded six other monuments from the sixteenth century, viz., William Barnes, a cooper (d. 1520), Nicholas Partridge, alderman, former sheriff and a grocer by trade (d. 1519), Thomas Gale, haberdasher (d.

⁶⁰ H.B. Walters *London Churches at the Reformation* (London, 1939), 282-285; Stow's *Survey* (1603) i, 210.

⁶¹ Freeth, 'Brasses at St George', 70.

1540) with his wife Elizabeth (d. 1545), James Mumford, surgeon to the King (d. 1544), Sir William Foreman, haberdasher and successively sheriff and mayor (d. 1547) and Nicholas Wilford, merchant taylor (d. 1551) and his wife, Elizabeth (d. 1560) .⁶³

In his account, Clynt recorded that Adam Bamme and Sir William Foreman were buried in the chancel and that William Combes was interred in the chancel aisle.⁶⁴ In his preamble Clynt also recorded that these brasses included those from 'the church and churchyard'. Consequently, this is an important source of evidence for extra-mural burial and commemoration when brass memorials were placed outside. But Clynt is not clear on the precise location of these monuments: it is from the will of Nicholas Partridge (d. 1525) that we know that he was buried 'in the wall without the Southe dore' but this is the only clear example of a churchyard burial from Clynt's burial list.⁶⁵ Others were probably commemorated with brasses outside as well. Such instances were likely to have been from the sixteenth century as these were more likely to have survived and be recorded by Clynt.

⁶² Stow recorded 'Narpora' as 'Marpor' and that he was a gentleman but nothing further has been found on him, Stow, i, 210.

⁶³ Freeth, 'Brasses at St George', 70.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 70-71.

A Survey of London by John Stow and later editions

By the end of the sixteenth century, there was a revived interest in antiquarian studies.⁶⁶ In London this was most notably expressed by John Stow, a contemporary of Clynt, who also had a deep interest in the history, not only of his parish church, but also that of the city more widely. Stow had witnessed at first hand one of the most turbulent periods of London's history, the surrender of the religious houses, the closure of the chantries and colleges and the sale and redevelopment of the monasteries and several city churches. And in the course of his eighty years, London had expanded quickly with a rapid growth in population from 50,000 to 200,000.⁶⁷ It is therefore not surprising that one of Stow's distinctive characteristics was his sense of nostalgia and natural conservatism. This is demonstrated in his study of the city, *A Survey of London*, when it was first published in 1598.⁶⁸ Stow was one of the earliest writers on the practices, customs and structure of medieval London which he described at length in the *Survey*. Stow also gave a detailed account of each ward, its parish churches, religious houses and institutions together with their monuments.

⁶⁵ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/21 ff. 268r-269r.

⁶⁶ O. Harris, 'The greatest blow to antiquities that ever England had': The Reformation and the Antiquarian Resistance', in J.F. van Dijkhuizen and R. Todd, eds, *The Reformation Unsettled: British Literature and the Question of Religious Identity, 1560-1660* (Turnhout, 2008), 225-240; P. Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007), 53-89.

⁶⁷ C.M. Barron and V. Harding 'London' in C.R.J. Currie and C.P. Lewis, eds, *English County Histories: A Guide* (Stroud 1994), 258-269.

⁶⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), see especially, i, xxviii-xliii for Kingsford's comments on Stow's nostalgia and fondness for the past. This is also discussed in, I. Archer 'John Stow, Citizen and Historian' in I. Gadd and A. Gillespie, eds. *John Stow (1525-1605) and the Making of the English Past* (London 2004), 13-26 and P. Collinson, 'John Stow and nostalgic antiquarianism' in J.F. Merritt, ed., *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001), 27-51. For Stow in general see the entry by Barrett L. Beer, *ODNB*, 52, 982-986..

Though by trade a merchant taylor Stow had, by the 1560s, developed a deep interest in antiquities and history beginning with the first publication of his *Summary of English Chronicles* (1565). His involvement in antiquarian and historical study brought him into contact with others with similar interests, such as Richard Grafton (d.1573), with whom he had a long running dispute, and William Camden (d.1623).⁶⁹ But it seems to have been William Lambarde (d.1601) and his 1574 publication of *The Perambulation of Kent* which most influenced Stow in compiling a similar record for London. Stow himself referred to Lambarde's work in the dedication of his own *Survey*.⁷⁰

Stow was unrelenting in his criticism of those responsible for the destruction and defacement of the city's heritage, especially those who had destroyed monuments. His characteristic disapproval is loud when, for instance, he described the lost monuments of St Botolph Billingsgate where 'many other persons of good worship, whose monuments are all destroyed by bad and greedy men of spoyle'.⁷¹ Elsewhere Stow referred to these 'greedy men' by name, William Paulet (d. 1572), marquis of Winchester, who sold off the tombs at the Austin Friars, Edward Seymour (d. 1551), duke of Somerset, who destroyed the monuments in the cloister of St Paul's Cathedral, and Sir Martin Bowes (d. 1566) who oversaw the sale and removal of the monuments from the Grey Friars.⁷² Stow reserved his greatest indignation for those who had deliberately destroyed tombs and exhumed the bodies of London worthies such as the wealthy city merchant and mayor, Richard Whittington (d. 1423), whose

⁶⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, xx – xxi and lxviii – lxxiii.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, i, xcvi – xcvi.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, i, 208.

⁷² *Ibid*, i, 177 (Augustine Friars), 328–328 (St Paul's cloister) and 322 (Grey Friars).

body had been taken out of his grave in search of supposed wealth during the reign of Edward VI.⁷³ Unfortunately the body had to be exhumed yet again because those who had reburied the corpse had not covered it in lead. Likewise Stow was indignant that the tomb of John Shadworth, mercer, (d. 1430) at St Mildred Breadstreet was destroyed to make way for the grave and monument of Sir Ambrose Nicholas (d. 1578).⁷⁴ Stow's sense of moral outrage led him deliberately to omit mention of recent monuments in his *Survey*. John Manningham (c.1575-1622), a lawyer at the Middle Temple London, noted in his diary:

I was with Stowe the antiquary ... He gave me this good reason why in his Survey he omittes manie newe monuments: because those men hath bin the defacers of the monuments of others, and soe thinks them worthy to be deprived of that memory whereof they have injuriously robbed others.⁷⁵

In consequence Stow is a less complete source than he might otherwise have been yet without his account we would know much less about London's lost monuments.

Stow also tells us about the restoration work which had been undertaken with particular monuments. In particular the Fishmongers Company had been active in restoring the monuments of former members of their craft. Their concern was directed towards the tombs of men of significance and prominence within their craft such as Sir William Walworth (d. 1385) who had killed Wat

⁷³ Ibid, i, 243.

⁷⁴ Ibid, i, 242–243.

⁷⁵ J. Bruce, ed. *Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister at Law, 1602 – 1603*, Camden Society, 99 (1868), 103. It is likely that Stow was

Tyler during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.⁷⁶ In a sardonic footnote Stow points out that the Fishmongers had mistakenly referred to Jack Straw on the tomb instead of Wat Tyler. Stow's approval was, however, clear elsewhere such as in the case of the restored tomb of Thomas Kneseworth (d. 1515) which 'within these 4 yeares againe was renewed by the Fishmongers'.⁷⁷ This shows the importance placed on retaining earlier commemorations in the late sixteenth century as well as the activities by particular guilds to achieve this.

The *Survey* is also rich in references to the heraldry and coats of arms displayed in stained glass, on pillars and on tombs and monumental brasses although the arms are never described in great detail. In Stow's own parish church of St Andrew Cornhill he noted the presence of arms, displayed on the pillars, for the former mayor Sir Stephen Jennings who was a major benefactor of his parish church during its reordering in the 1520s. Similarly, at St Mary Bothaw, Stow referred to the 'divers Noblemen and persons of worshippe [who] have been buried, as appeareth by Armes in the Windowes, the defaced Tombes, and printe of plates torn up and carried away'. Stow had a particular interest in the heraldry used to promote important Londoners. He often included references to them whenever he came across them in the city, such as the arms of the alderman and former sheriff, Sir John Crosby (d. 1475) which were displayed at the gate of Bishopsgate and in the library of St Peter's Cornhill.⁷⁸

responding to criticism of the first edition of his *Survey*, see P.J. Finkelpearl's entry on Manningham, *ODNB*, 36, 513-514.

⁷⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 215 and 219-220.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, i, . 274.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, i, 10 and 194.

Stow's interest in heraldry brought him in to contact with other likeminded scholars such as the Somerset Herald, Robert Glover (d. 1588), with whom he developed a strong friendship. When Stow recorded Glover's tomb at St Giles Cripplegate, he referred to him as the 'the skilfull Robert Glover alias Sommerset Heraulde 1588' a rare display of praise on Stow's part.⁷⁹ Glover and Stow were members of a network of antiquarians and heralds who were themselves avid collectors of old manuscripts and documents. It is known that Glover borrowed manuscripts from Stow, as well as having access to civic records, and it is very likely that Stow also used private collections, possibly including Glover's.⁸⁰ By the time Stow compiled his account, many of the mendicant houses had been converted into secular buildings and their tombs were gone. A comparison of Stow's entries in his *Survey* with the list of tombs in heraldic manuscripts, suggests where he copied certain extracts. For example, at the White Friars Stow's list is an almost like-for-like copy of BL MS Harley 6033.⁸¹

The use Stow made of manuscript material may explain the mistake he made when he described the tombs for the Wriothelesley family. In the 1598 edition he incorrectly recorded these at All Hallows Staining: they were in fact in St Giles Cripplegate, an error Stow rectified in the 1603 edition.⁸² It is curious how Stow came to make such a mistake especially because the Wriothesley family had not only been prominent heralds, including John Writhe (d. 1504),

⁷⁹ Ibid, i, 300.

⁸⁰ O. Harris, 'Stow and the Contemporary Antiquarian Network' in I. Gadd and A. Gillespie, eds, *John Stow (1525–1605) and the Making of the English Past*, (London, 2004), 27–35, esp. 32. For Glover, see Nigel Ramsay's entry in *ODNB*, 22, 499–500..

⁸¹ This Harley manuscript is similar to Benolt 2 and it is just as likely that Stow had seen this one instead.

and Sir Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534), but a cadet branch had become the earls of Southampton. Yet in spite of this correction about the place of the Wriothesley tombs, Stow continued to describe Sir Thomas Wriothesley erroneously as Sir John.⁸³

There are many instances where Stow's selectiveness is apparent in the *Survey*. As well as deliberately omitting those who had defaced monuments Stow was also sparing when referring to monuments for women.⁸⁴ This is apparent when comparing the surviving monuments with Stow's account of them. He omitted to mention, for example, both the wives on the brass of Sir Richard Haddon (d. 1516) visible from their indent at St Olave Hart Street, and also Ellen Ewynger, who is clearly represented on the plate and inscription with her husband Andrew Ewynger (d. 1533), at All Hallows Barking.⁸⁵ At St Andrew Cornhill, Stow's own parish church, he did not mention Denys, widow of Nicholas Leveson (d. 1539), mercer, who had died in 1560 and whose date of death was engraved on the inscription.⁸⁶ She too was commemorated alongside her husband as an effigy on their joint brass. Furthermore, in his account of the monuments from St George in Botolph Lane, Stow omitted Elizabeth Gale (d. 1545) who was noted by Clynt on her husband's brass.⁸⁷ A comparison with later editions of the *Survey* reveals further instances of this selectivity. For example, where Stow simply recorded 'Richard Sturges Fishmonger, 1470' in

⁸² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁸³ *Ibid*, i, 299-300.

⁸⁴ C. Steer, 'Commemoration and Women in Medieval London' in M. Davies and A. Prescott, eds, *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron* (Donington, 2008), 230-245.

⁸⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 132 (Haddon) and 131 (Ewynger).

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, i, 145.

⁸⁷ Freeth, 'Brasses at St George', 70.

the church of St Nicholas Olave⁸⁸, it was John Strype, in the 1720 edition, who recorded a portion of the inscription which revealed that Katherine Sturges, Richard's wife, was also commemorated:

Hic jacet Richardus Sturges, Civis & Piscenarius London & Katherina uxor ejus. Qui quidem Rich obiit 3 die mensis Julii, Anno Dom. 1470. Et Praedicta Katherina obiit, &c.⁸⁹

(Here lies Richard Sturges, citizen and fishmonger of London and Katherine his wife, which Richard died on the 3 day of the month of July in the year of our Lord 1470. And the said Katherine died, etc.)

It would seem, therefore, that Stow's recording of the monuments is neither complete nor completely accurate. It was Stow's personal choice to include some wives and not others. He also excluded the tombs of those who had destroyed the monuments of others.

Shortly before his death, Stow formed a friendship with the playwright and translator, Anthony Munday (1560-1633) with whom he probably collaborated on the 1603 edition of his *Survey*.⁹⁰ Munday was, like Stow, a Londoner and had a remarkable and varied career from his apprenticeship as a draper in the 1570s, an actor in the 1580s, a government agent in the 1590s before becoming a playwright, translator and writer of civic pageants. He was also Stow's unofficial literary executor and was responsible for two subsequent editions of the *Survey* published in 1618 and 1633, the latter in collaboration

⁸⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 357.

⁸⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1 Book 3, 211.

⁹⁰ T. Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London, 1580-1633* (Manchester, 2004), 144.

with the book collector Humphrey Dyson (d. 1633).⁹¹ Munday noted that Stow was aware that his *Survey* was incomplete, and that it was Stow's wish that Munday should continue, correct and complete a further edition of the *Survey*.⁹² His editions not only included references to the theatres, which Stow had ignored completely, but also discussed in more detail church re-building, a section on the River Thames and extended the descriptions on the wards, such as Cripplegate.

Munday recorded many new references to monuments which had been missed by Stow in the earlier editions. At St Margaret Bridge Street, for instance, Munday recorded the recent discovery of an effigy of John de Coggeshall (d. 1384) which he described:

Finding it to be the Figure of a Man of good respect lying upon his Tomb, according to the manner of Persons of Antiquity. And this Inscription he [Mr Wood, parson of St Margaret's] delivered me, written with his own Hand: Joannes de Coggeshal, Civis & Cordarus de Parochia S. Margaretae de Bridgestreet, London. Anno 1384. An. Reg. Richardi Secundi, Octavo. Testamentum irrotulat in Hustingo London, die Lunae in Festo. S. Leonardi Abbatis. An Reg. Richardi Secundi, 9.⁹³

Munday also added that de Coggeshall was buried in the church wall under the marble stone in the window and next to the altar of St Peter on the north side of the church. This suggests that the effigy of de Coggeshall was set into a recess perhaps in a side chapel.

⁹¹ Ibid; J. F. Merritt, 'The reshaping of Stow's *Survey*: Munday, Strype and the Protestant City' in Merritt, *Imagining Early Modern London*, 52-88; For Munday see also the entry by David M. Bergeron, *ODNB*, 39, 739-746.

⁹² Stow's *Survey* (1633), A3. Munday's role as Stow's successor is also discussed in Hill *Anthony Munday*, 168; H. Moore 'Succeeding Stow: Anthony Munday and the 1618 *Survey of London*' in Gadd and Gillespie, *John Stow*, 99-108.

This is a rare case of where a lost tomb has been discovered in seventeenth century London. This also shows that Munday was himself in dialogue with the clerk at St Margaret's Bridge Street who referred him to the parson's discovery. The information on the deceased, his craft and date of death are all important features from his monument but the most unusual feature is the reference in Coggeshall's inscription to his will and where it was proved. It is not unknown for epitaphs sometimes to record other such matters but this is the only known instance of this practice from medieval London.⁹⁴ In his will enrolled in the Hustings Court, de Coggeshall made detailed provision for a chantry for himself, his parents Thomas and Amicia and his late wife Juliana and the inference is that he wanted this safe-guarded by publicising the whereabouts of the will should it be required for future reference.⁹⁵ Coggeshall also in his will mentioned that his tomb had already been constructed. This suggests that de Coggeshall himself took a particular interest in his memorial and that recording the details of his will on the inscription was done on his own instruction.

Munday also added other monuments which Stow seems to have missed accidentally or deliberately omitted. At St Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street, for instance, Stow recorded only two monuments, Richard Woodroffe, merchant taylor, (d. 1519) and Bernard Randolph, esquire (d. 1583) noting that 'the Parish Church of Saint Mary Magdalen, a small Church, having but few monuments'.⁹⁶

⁹³ Stow's *Survey* (1633), p. 92.

⁹⁴ N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 139.

⁹⁵ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/113. The chantry still functioned in 1548, C.J. Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548* (London Record Society, 8, 1980), 25.

⁹⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1603), ii, 18.

Munday, on the other hand, also included the tomb of John Sugar, fishmonger, (d. 1455) and his wife Margaret (d. 1485) which he described as 'a very antient Tomb in the North Ile of the Quire'.⁹⁷ The text of the inscription suggests that it was a monumental brass with the formulaic name, occupation, date of death and wife's name, followed by a request for prayer. At St Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street, Munday also included the inscription taken from the monument of Bernard Randolph: he adds more detail to Stow's description of him as 'esquire' noting also that Randolph was in fact the Common Sergeant of London. Munday also noted the location of the tomb within the parish church at the east end of the chancel.⁹⁸ At All Hallows Bread Street it is Munday who recorded the memorial for the salter and former sheriff, Thomas Beaumont (d. 1457), and his two wives both named Alice, as 'an ancient Marble Tomb as in a Chappel by itself'.⁹⁹ Munday also provided the text of the inscription which showed Beaumont's concern with the Feast of Corpus Christi.¹⁰⁰

Elsewhere in this church, Munday also recorded the inscriptions for a number of later, seventeenth-century memorials; William Albany, merchant taylor (d. 1589) and his wives Thomasine (d. 1565) and Joan (d. 1579), together with the memorial for Henry Suckley, former sheriff and merchant taylor (d. 1564) with his four wives, Anne Boughton, Elizabeth English, Alice Fletcher and Agnes Cachemaide.¹⁰¹ Stow had also recorded monuments for these men but he did not record their wives and nor did he note that these were 'plated stones'

⁹⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1633), 28.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 28.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 28.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 28.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 29.

– brass – which were near to each other.¹⁰² Munday also wrote down the inscriptions from the tombs of two merchant taylors, Robert Mellyshe (d. 1562), and Robert Hulson (d. 1580), both of whose monuments were omitted from Stow's own editions.¹⁰³

It has been suggested that Munday included additional monuments for two reasons: first he was stamping his own credentials as a scholar on the *Survey*, by including new material, and also that he included tombs which had been omitted for being overtly Protestant, by the conservative John Stow.¹⁰⁴ The tombs of John Shute, painter-stainer, (d. 1563) at St Edmund Lombard Street and also of Elizabeth Lucar, wife of Emmanuel, (d. 1537) at St Lawrence Poultny are cited as examples of strongly worded Protestant texts. It may have been that Stow omitted them for this reason but it is also the case that his editions of the *Survey* contain fewer tombs from the latter half of the sixteenth century than from earlier periods. In the parish church of Christ's Church, on the site of the former convent of the Grey Friars, Stow listed only one monument for 'Walter Hadden, Doctor,' followed by the abbreviated '&c'. Walter Haddon (1514/15-71) was a doctor of civil law and an influential Protestant during the Reformation who, as such, could not be ignored by Stow. It is evident, however, that a further fifteen monuments survived from this city church from the late sixteenth century.¹⁰⁵ Stow's selectiveness was not confined to Protestants and his edition of the *Survey* reflects those in whom he was personally interested and those, who in his opinion, were worthy of remembrance. Munday, on the

¹⁰² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 347.

¹⁰³ Stow's *Survey* (1633), p. 30.

¹⁰⁴ Merritt, 'The reshaping of Stow's *Survey*, 55 and 58.

other hand, had different interests and included some of those whom Stow had omitted.

Munday's contribution to the study of church monuments for London was important. He recorded many inscriptions which were omitted in the Stow editions. This enables us to learn the text of many memorials and also to conjecture what some may have looked like, based on these texts. Munday also noted the location of certain tombs and placed them within the parish church. This was also largely ignored by Stow. Finally Munday recorded new monuments from the latter half of the sixteenth century which were not of special interest to his predecessor and so expands Stow's *Survey*.

The *Survey* continued to arouse interest during the seventeenth century when sections of it were adapted into new publications on London. In 1694 the cartographer Richard Blome (d. 1705) began a new edition which he intended to illustrate with contemporary engravings and maps of London. Like Munday he also updated the list of monuments, including those at St Michael Cornhill, added a section on the process for electing aldermen and he included histories of the merchant companies. Because of financial difficulties this project was never completed but in 1702 the ecclesiastical historian, and clergyman, John Strype (1643-1737) had resumed the editorship of another new edition of the *Survey*.¹⁰⁵ Strype was the son of a Dutch immigrant, had studied at Cambridge and entered the Church of England becoming curate of Low Leyton (Essex) in

¹⁰⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 134-138. For Haddon see the entry by Gerald Bray, *ODNB*, 24, 414-415.

¹⁰⁶ J.J. Morrison, 'Strype's Stow: The 1720 Edition of 'A Survey of London'', *The London Journal*, 3 (1977), 40-54.

1669, later becoming rural dean of Barking and holding a lectureship at Hackney (Middlesex). He also undertook a series of biographical studies making weekly visits to London in which he researched and maintained contact with antiquarian friends from whom he borrowed and, sometimes, shared information.¹⁰⁷

The new edition of the *Survey* was published in 1720 as *A Survey of the Cities of London & Westminster: containing the original, antiquity, increase, modern estate and government of these cities*. Strype reprinted Stow's original 1603 text and then annotated the margins of the text with the additions made by Munday and Blome. These he abbreviated "A.M." for Anthony Munday and "R.B." for Richard Blome (also sometimes referred as "R" only). Strype's own additions were annotated as "J.S" and as well as these three contributors Strype also included other footnotes in the margins. At the parish church of St Anne Aldersgate, for instance, he included the name 'J. Worthing' in the margins when describing the 1715 gravestone of Thomas Morer, rector of St Anne's. This Mr Worthing was also cited as Strype's source for the inscription on the north pillar of the church of St Andrew Cornhill for Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys (d. 1709).¹⁰⁸ It is likely that J. Worthing can also be identified as the 'I.W.' referred to as Strype's assistant.¹⁰⁹ It is possible to identify him as John Worthington (1663-1737) son of John Worthington senior (d. 1671) clergyman, translator and editor who was buried at Hackney. It is possible that Strype came to know

¹⁰⁷ For Strype, see G.H. Martin and Anita McConnell, *ODNB*, 53, 123-126.

¹⁰⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1 book 3, 102 (Morer) and vol 1 book 2, 70 (Jeffreys).

¹⁰⁹ Merritt 'The reshaping of Stow's *Survey*', 84.

Worthington junior both through the Church and through his lectureship at Hackney.¹¹⁰

Strype also referred to the heralds as another source of information, such as John Hare (c. 1668-1720), Richmond Herald, who provided Strype with the will of Sir William Craven, buried at St Andrew Cornhill (d. 1618), and also Sir Henry St George, Garter King of Arms (1625-1715) who provided Strype with information on the tombs at the parish church of St Bartholomew the Less.¹¹¹ It is evident that Strype utilised many church officials in his research for the updated *Survey*, as at St James Clerkenwell and St Botolph Aldgate, where his parish histories are far fuller than those to be found elsewhere.¹¹² The use Strype made of his connection with Henry St George allowed him access to the manuscripts and library acquired by three generations of the St George family, in their role as heralds, and these manuscripts may well have been the source for his account of the many monuments which had been destroyed during the Great Fire of 1666.¹¹³ At the parish church of St Nicholas Cole Abbey the margins of the *Survey* refer to 'MS D.H. St George Mil Garter JS' against which was written:

Add these antient Epitaphs and Inscriptions, which have formerly been taken by a diligent Herald, from the Monuments in the Church of St Nicholas Cold Abbey; together with the Dates and Coats of Arms ingraven.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ For Worthington see the entry by J. T. Young, *ODNB*, 60, 358-360.

¹¹¹ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1 book 2, 68 (Hare) and vol 1 book 3, 232 (St George).

¹¹² Merritt 'The reshaping of Stow's *Survey*', 84.

¹¹³ For Sir Henry St George, see the entry by Thomas Woodcock, *ODNB*, 48, 605-606.

¹¹⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1 book 3, p. 210.

The note in the margin clearly refers to Strype's use of a manuscript which listed eight monuments at St Nicholas Cole Abbey of which only five had been recorded by Stow.¹¹⁵ Of these tombs (probably monumental brasses as implied by their inscriptions and occasional reference as 'plated stone') six of them related to fishmongers and their wives, Walter Turk, a former mayor, (d. 1350), William Coggeshall (d. 1426) and his wife Elizabeth, Thomas Paddington (d. 1485), Richard Hunsher, (d 1500) and his wife Matilda (d. 1493), William Clark (d. 1505), and his wives Jane and Christian, and Thomas Nicholls (d. 1527) and his wife Christian. Strype also copied out the memorials for John Orenge, gentleman, and his wife Agnes (d. 1504) and Roger Hunning, purveyor of sea fish for Henry VIII (d. 1541) and his wife Margaret.¹¹⁶ The order of these tombs is identical with BL Lansdowne MS 874 compiled by Sir Henry St George, senior, (1581-1644) and Nicholas Charles (1582-1613) on 16 June 1611. Their series of 'church notes' contained in this manuscript identifies a number of monuments omitted by Stow adding epitaphs and descriptions of heraldry and coats of arms for those commemorated.¹¹⁷

As well as the use of 'research assistants', and access to private archives, Strype also utilised other printed texts such as Sir William Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales* published in 1666 which recorded the tombs from the Temple church. Unlike the St George manuscript, which he records in full, Strype merely notes 'for the Epitaphs and Inscriptions of all these, I refer the

¹¹⁵ Stow recorded tombs for Walter Turke, William Coggeshall, Thomas Paddington, William Clarke and Thomas Nicholls, Stow's *Survey* (1603), ii, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1 book 3, p. 210.

¹¹⁷ The account to be found in BL Lansdowne MS 874 and the entries in Strype's *Survey* are identical.

Reader to Dugdale's Book, before mentioned'.¹¹⁸ Of these monuments recorded by Dugdale, only the brass of Sir Nicholas Hare, Master of the Rolls (d. 1557), was noted by Stow.¹¹⁹ Stow was familiar with the monuments in the Temple, recording the five military effigies, but he seems to have restricted (or been restricted) to those in the round walk.¹²⁰ Dugdale clearly had greater access which allowed him to record the tombs adjoining the north and south walls, in the north and middle aisles and on 'diverse plates of brass, within the precinct of the Church'.¹²¹ Strype himself also had greater access to the Temple and listed a series of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century gravestones and monuments in his edition of the *Survey*.

Strype did not restrict his edition of the *Survey* to a collection of texts, manuscripts and *ad hoc* pieces of information sent to him by friends and associates. He also visited a number of parish churches and undertook his own research as demonstrated in the number of 'J.S' notes in the margins of the *Survey*. In describing the parish of All Hallows Barking, Strype included a section on the repairs to the church following the accidental detonation of twenty seven barrels of gunpowder in 1649. He follows this account by a description of subsequent repairs undertaken in the years up to 1701.¹²² His initials are also to be found alongside the description of the tomb of the draper and former sheriff, Humphrey Monmouth, (d. 1537) where he described Monmouth as 'a great Ornament'. Strype, a committed member of the

¹¹⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 273.

¹¹⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), ii, 51; Sir William Dugdale, *Originales Juridiciales* (London, 1666), 178.

¹²⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1603), ii, 405.

¹²¹ Dugdale, *Originales Juridiciales*, 173-183.

¹²² Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 2, 33.

established Church of England, would have been particularly interested in Monmouth who was an influential figure in the growth of Protestantism during the early years of the Reformation.¹²³

The 1720 edition of the *Survey* primarily expands the work of Stow and Munday but it was also extended to include both published and unpublished material. Although Strype's edition has been accused of failing to provide an up-to-date guide on London, it nonetheless serves to summarise a series of almost continuous research on London's commemorative landscape undertaken from the late sixteenth through to the early eighteenth centuries.¹²⁴

John Weever and *Ancient Funeral Monuments*

The interest in monuments and epitaphs, which had grown during the sixteenth century, was also evident in John Weever's (1575/6-1632) *Ancient Funeral Monuments* which was published in 1631. This listed the monuments and inscriptions in the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London and Norwich. Weever came from Preston (Lancashire) and in his youth had been a member of the Cambridge and London literary scene publishing his *Epigrammes* in 1599. His interest in the theatre and poetry influenced him for a further two years before leaving London. Biographical information on Weever's activities is sketchy and incomplete, although we know that he spent time travelling in Britain and in western Europe. It is in the period 1601–1631 that Weever's interest in funeral monuments grew and he developed a friendship with

¹²³ Ibid; S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), 107-109.

¹²⁴ Merritt, 'The reshaping of Stow's *Survey*', 87.

Augustine Vincent (c. 1584-1626) Windsor Herald and Keeper of the Records in the Tower.¹²⁵ Through Vincent, Weever came to be part of a group of like-minded men which included Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631), Sir William Le Neve (1592-1661) and Sir Henry Spelman (1563/4-1641), and he made use of their libraries and collections.¹²⁶ Weever's "magnum opus" was published in 1631 with the title, *Antient funeral monuments of Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands; with the dissolved monuments therein contained; their founders, and what eminent persons have been therein interred. As also the death and burial of certain of the blood royal, nobility and gentry of these Kingdoms, entombed in foreign nations*. It is evident from his remarks in 'The Author to the Reader' that Weever shared Stow's regret at the loss and destruction of monuments:

... How barbarously within these his Maiesties Dominions, they [monuments] are (to the shame of our time) broken downe, and almost all ruined, their brasen Inscriptions erased, torne away, and pilfered, by which inhumane, deformidable act, the honourable memory of many vertuous and noble persons deceased, is extinguished, and the true understanding of divers Families in these Realmes (who have descended of these worthy persons aforesaid) is so darkened, as the true course of their inheritance is thereby partly interrupted.¹²⁷

Weever, like Stow, used emotive language when criticising the deliberate destruction of monuments of the dead. However, his remarks also refer to the importance placed on inscriptions and in particular the use they had in proving genealogical claims. Although inscriptions before the mid-sixteenth century rarely included more than the name of a wife, they were often accompanied by

¹²⁵ For Weever, see David Kathman's entry in *ODNB*, 57, 941-943; E.A.J. Honigmann, *John Weever* (Manchester, 1987); N. Llewellyn, 'John Weever and English Renaissance Funeral Monuments of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (Unpublished University of London Ph.D thesis 1983). For Vincent, see A.E. Brown's *ODNB* entry, 56, 530.

¹²⁶ Weever (1631), i-viii ; Honigmann *Weever*, 57-67.

heraldic coats of arms identifying the ancestry of the deceased and, sometimes, the supposed ancestry. This was especially the case with retrospective monuments commissioned and erected by members of the family sometimes many years after the death of their forbears.

Unlike Stow, who was only interested in London, Weever was curious about the tombs scattered throughout England and intended to make a much greater study of them. In his preface, Weever referred to 'the rest of the worke now in hand, which is already in a good forwardnesse', suggesting that a second volume of other monuments would be forthcoming.¹²⁸ He was also clearly aware of the criticism which Stow's first edition of 1598 had received and, given his circle of antiquarian friends, this is not surprising. Weever requested his readers to send in any corrections and also asked that masons should preserve inscriptions and notify him for later use.¹²⁹ Weever, like Stow, was aware of his own short comings and included a defence of his methodology in the preface to *Ancient Funeral Monuments*. He states that he only recorded monuments which were of interest and also referred to the difficulties he had encountered with some churchwardens who would not allow him to record what he found in their parish churches without payment.¹³⁰ He also referred to a number of monuments, both in London and elsewhere, which were covered with seats or pews - a practice Weever thought should be reviewed.¹³¹ As a consequence *Ancient Funeral Monuments* sometimes appears confused in its

¹²⁷ Weever (1631), i.

¹²⁸ Ibid, i-viii; Honigmann, *John Weever*, 68-69.

¹²⁹ Weever (1631) i-viii.

¹³⁰ Ibid, i-viii.

structure and without order. In London, for example, Weever recorded monuments at St Peter Cornhill and St Michael Cornhill in the city centre, followed by those at St Benet Gracechurch, located near the southern part of London near the Thames, and then diverts back to the northern part of the city where he recorded the tombs in Broad Street ward.¹³² Within the diocese of London, Weever's route was more complex, having left the city of London at the Temple Church (page 444), he then moved to the city of Westminster and Westminster Abbey before visiting the suburbs of Chelsea, Fulham, Islington and Stepney. The text then includes monuments from further afield, such as at St Albans (Hertfordshire), and then to Dagenham and Saffron Walden (Essex), before returning to the city of London (page 686) and listing the tombs at St Benet Paul's Wharf. But in spite of this rather haphazard presentation, Weever nonetheless recorded an impressive series of now largely lost monumental inscriptions.

Weever's literary background meant that he was especially interested in recording rhyming epitaphs. One of these was for the draper, Richard Payne (d. 1463), and his wife Elizabeth copied from their inscription at St Nicholas Acon. This particular tomb was omitted by the editors of the *Survey of London* and Weever's is the only record of the tomb and of its inscription:

O ye dere friendys whiy ch fall here aftyr be,
Of yowr deuotion plese ye to remembyr,
Me Richard Payne which of this noble cite,
Somtym whylst I liud was Citizen and Draper;

¹³¹ Weever(1631), 701. Weever added this comment to the monuments he recorded at St Nicholas Olave where, it is presumed, he had encountered difficulties in viewing the monuments.

¹³² Weever (1631), 416-419.

And now thro goddys grace buryd am I here,
 For mercy to abyd after this lif present;
 Trustyng by preyer celestiall loy to be my judgment.
 Wherfor o my Frendys dere, my soul ye like assist,
 And eke Elizabeth my wyf and chyldren on by on.
 And I sall prey God fro payne yowr souls to resist,
 The sooner by meditation of blessyd Sant Albion.
 On whos day in Iun [22 June] on Mcccc lx and thrice on,
 Then being the yere of God, as hit did him plese.
 Out of this present world did I discese.¹³³

The Payne epitaph specifically asked for intercession from St Alban, on whose feast day, 22 June, Payne had died. This may explain why Stow omitted this entry from his account since he may not have wished to draw attention to his conservative sympathies. But this also suggests that the epitaph was composed on the instructions of Payne's widow, Elizabeth, who was also his principal executor.¹³⁴ Payne himself did not specify a tomb in his will although he did ask to be buried 'in to the middell isle afore the fonte'. His widow evidently made sure that there was something very distinctive for couples to read when they brought their children to be baptised and to remember her dead husband during this important Christian ceremony.

A taste for unusual texts, such as the Payne epitaph, is a distinctive feature of Weever's account. But he also recorded other, more conventional inscriptions although he was again often drawn to those which rhymed. At St Nicholas Olave, for example, he noted:

Who that passyth by this way,
 For mercy of God, behold and pray
 For all souls cristen, and for us
 On(e) Pater Noster, and an Ave.

¹³³ Ibid, 412.

¹³⁴ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/5 ff. 3r-3v.

To the blessyd Saynts, and our blessyd Lady,
Seynt Mary to pray for us.¹³⁵

This he took from the probable foot inscription of the brass of the fishmonger, William Reed (d. 1447) and his wife Margery. This also contained the usual 'Hic iacet' descriptor which was likely to have been set around the edge of the slab as a marginal inscription. The importance of these prayer inscriptions shows that many had survived from medieval London and that not all of them were stripped away during the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Another 'Ave' inscription was noted from the tomb of the grocer, William Pratte, (d. 1504) at St Botolph Bishopsgate, while at St Antonin, the memorial for William Goldhirst, a skinner (d. 1511), and his wife Margaret had an inscription which ended with a request for a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave*.¹³⁶ Weever is the only source which recorded the inscription on the Reed, Pratte and Goldhirst monuments.

But Weever also included many other inscriptions which did not rhyme such as those which began 'Hic iacet'. This formulaic text was recorded on the inscriptions taken from St John Zachary where, for instance, the tomb of Thomas Thorpe, baron of the Exchequer, (d. 1461) and his wife Joan contained a (likely) brass with such an epitaph. From this city church, Weever also copied the inscriptions from the tombs of John Sutton, alderman and goldsmith, (d. 1450) and his widow, Margery, (d. 1461) who were both included on the same tomb as her father, William Brekespere.¹³⁷ Although Stow noted Sutton's tomb in his *Survey* he did not mention Thorpe although Strype later included it.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Weever (1631), 701.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 420 (Pratte) and 404 (Goldhirst).

¹³⁷ Ibid, 391-392.

¹³⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol. 1, book 3, 97.

The other popular form of inscription began with 'Orate pro anima' and there are many examples of this text which Weever copied down from London epitaphs. One of those he noted from St Michael Queenhithe was for a former mayor, Richard Marlow an ironmonger (d. 1420) and his wife Agnes.¹³⁹ This form of inscription was also used on the tomb of another mayor, Simon Eyre, (d. 1459) at St Mary Woolnoth although by Weever's time this had evidently been damaged, either wilfully or through time, much of the inscription being unreadable.¹⁴⁰ 'Orate pro anima' texts, like 'Hic iacet', were popular forms of wording on incised slabs and monumental brasses and these instances show the preference for flat monuments by particular city mayors.¹⁴¹

Although *Ancient Funeral Monuments* is, at times, disorderly in its structure it nevertheless provides very detailed information on monuments which Stow, and his successors had omitted. In particular the inclusion of texts, in the form of inscriptions, is important especially those in English which suggest a literate patron and lay audience. But the inscriptions given by Weever are important in other ways; they record the biography of the deceased, the spouse and sometimes the children. They also reflect Weever's own interests and pre-occupations in particularly with the verse. And these texts which he noted can also be used to suggest the type of monument which was in place, since many inscriptions used wording which was very similar to that found on monumental brasses and incised slabs. A further volume would have been produced, but Weever died in February/March 1632 and was buried at St

¹³⁹ Weever (1631), 405.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 412.

James's Clerkenwell where a marble tablet, now lost, was erected in his memory.¹⁴²

The History of St Paul's Cathedral by Sir William Dugdale

The final written source for the study of monuments in medieval London is Sir William Dugdale's (1605–86) *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London: from its foundation until these times: extracted out of original charters. Records. Leiger books, and other manuscripts Beautified with Sundry Prospects of the Church, figures of tombs, and monuments*. This was published in 1658 and as well as being a history of the Cathedral, based on surviving documents and manuscripts, it also illustrated many tombs and their inscriptions from inside the cathedral in the mid seventeenth century.

Dugdale was born in Warwickshire and quickly became interested in antiquity and the study of his county. He was part of a provincial network of antiquarians including Robert Burton (1577-1640) and Sir Simon Archer (1581-1662). Through his friendship with these men Dugdale was able to use their collections and libraries and also to receive letters of introduction to similar, like-minded, men in London. It was through Archer that Dugdale met the historian Sir Henry Spelman (1563-1641). It was Spelman who encouraged and promoted Dugdale and used his influence to have him created Blanche Lyon Pursuivant in 1638. This appointment subsequently led to Dugdale's elevation

¹⁴¹ J. Bertram, 'Inscriptions on Late Medieval Brasses and Monuments', in J. Higgitt, K. Forsyth and D.N. Parsons, eds, *Roman, Runes and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent* (Donington, 2001), 190-201.

¹⁴² E.J. Wood, ed., *The History of Clerkenwell by the late William J. Pink* (London, 1881), 41-42.

to the positions of Rouge Croix Pursuivant, Chester Herald, and, in 1677, Garter Herald in recognition of which he was knighted.¹⁴³

As a member of the College of Arms, and also part of the influential London antiquarian network, Dugdale quickly formed new acquaintances and together with Roger Dodsworth (c. 1585-1654) embarked on *Monasticon Anglicanum* the first volume of which was published in 1655 and followed by a second volume in 1661. These volumes contained Dodsworth's own research, carried out in his native Yorkshire, together with his collective enterprises with Dugdale. They used government records held at the Tower of London, the Exchequer and the very rich archive held in the Cotton collection to which Dugdale had access. *Monasticon Anglicanum* provided the history of the religious orders in England together with an account of all the monasteries, provided transcripts of their charters. In between the publication of these two volumes, Dugdale also published another volume, *The Antiquaries of Warwickshire* (1656) which was the culmination of twenty five years research. In this he painstakingly recorded the families associated with each place. Dugdale's role as herald is noticeable for as well as listing the notable events for each family, their inter-marriages and funerals he also recorded their coats of arms.

In both *Monasticon Anglicanum* and *The Antiquaries of Warwickshire* Dugdale used the draughtsman Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77) for his illustrations. Hollar was born in Prague and had worked in Cologne before

¹⁴³ For Dugdale see the entry by Graham Parry, *ODNB*, 17, 153-157.

coming under the patronage of Thomas Howard (1585-1646), the earl of Arundel and Earl Marshall. During the Civil War, Hollar was in Antwerp and he did not return to England until 1652.¹⁴⁴ It is likely that it was through the patronage of Arundel, in his role as Earl Marshall, that Hollar and Dugdale had become acquainted, forming a working partnership. As well as drawing images, landscapes, tombs and coats of arms Hollar also drew buildings, including cathedrals, and would therefore have been ideally placed to assist Dugdale with his publications.

The History of St Paul's is the culmination of a seventeen year enterprise. It was Sir Christopher Hatton who had encouraged Dugdale to make a record of the tombs not only in St Paul's but in the cathedrals throughout England. Writing some seventeen years later, Dugdale reflected that it was Hatton who 'timely foresaw the near approaching storm'.¹⁴⁵ Dugdale responded and set out on a series of visits throughout England in which he was accompanied by William Sedgwick, an arms painter, who undertook the task of illustrating the many monuments which they saw during their tour.¹⁴⁶ Their account sometimes contains dates which show that their visits were taken over a two year period in 1640 and 1641. From their survey, perhaps one of the most richly commemorated cathedrals visited, was that of Lincoln on 10 September 1641 where they recorded forty-one monuments. Lincoln Cathedral suffered during the Civil War in which almost all of the brass memorials were destroyed.

¹⁴⁴ M. Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated* (London, 2002), 15. For Hollar see Robert J. D. Harding, *ODNB*, 27, 706-708.

¹⁴⁵ Dugdale (1658), xiii.

¹⁴⁶ BL, Additional MS 71474, ff. 1r-145v also known as the 'Book of Monuments' or 'Book of Draughts'; P. Whittemore, 'Sir William Dugdale's 'Book of Draughts'', *Church Monuments*, 23 (2003), 23-52. Sedgwick remains a shadowy figure on whom little is known.

Yet a comparison with another account of Lincoln's tombs suggests that Dugdale and Sedgwick only recorded some of the extant monuments and that there were in fact 163 monumental inscriptions extant in 1641.¹⁴⁷ There would almost certainly have been more if incised slabs were included. Dugdale was probably interested in the well born hence his selectivity. But it is the Sedgwick illustrations from Lincoln Cathedral which remains the only known record of what many of their memorial brasses looked like. It is thus a particularly important record of the commemoration of, amongst others, the medieval bishops and higher clergy of the Cathedral.

From their account we know that Dugdale and Sedgwick visited St Paul's Cathedral in 1641, shortly after they had been to Westminster Abbey. They made thirteen illustrations of the monuments extant in the old Cathedral, viz., Thomas Okeford, vicar of St Paul's (d. 1504), John Colet, dean (d. 1519), a man called Odeby, William Worsley, dean (d.1499), Robert Fitz-hugh, bishop of London (d. 1436), William Green, canon (d.1540), two un-named canons, Richard, another canon, William Rythin, rector of St Faith's (d. 1400), Simon Burley (d. 1388), John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (d. 1399) with his first wife Blanche, and Richard Litchfield, a canon (d. 1496).¹⁴⁸ This shows that they only had the opportunity to draw a selection of the medieval monuments in the old cathedral and also that in 1641 many of the inscriptions had become eroded,

¹⁴⁷ BL, Additional MS 71474 ff. 92r-113r. For the lost brasses at Lincoln Cathedral see F. Peck, ed., *Lincoln Cathedral; an exact copy of all the ancient monumental inscriptions there, as they stood in MDCXLI; collected by Robert Sanderson, S.T.P., afterwards Lord Bishop of that church; and compared with and corrected by Sir W. Dugdale's MS survey* (London, 1851). The brasses of Lincoln Cathedral are discussed in D. Lepine, 'A Decent Marble Stone': Piety and Identity in the Monuments of the Late Medieval Clergy of Lincoln Cathedral', *TMBs* (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁸ BL, Additional MS 71474 ff. 164v-185r.

with four of them unreadable. Sedgwick's drawings are rough sketches and it is likely that he intended to work these up in the final publication.

We do not know when Sedgwick died. He is last recorded in 1651 when his name appeared in a list of members of the Painter-Stainers Company.¹⁴⁹ He may have died shortly afterwards which explains why Dugdale came to use Hollar in the published history of St Paul's Cathedral. Hollar probably had access to Sedgwick's drawings but he does not seem to have been faithful to them.¹⁵⁰ Hollar often embellished his engravings by smartening up many of the memorials he drew. For example, Sedgwick's drawing of the tomb for the duke and duchess of Lancaster shows that their hands had already been broken off: Hollar added them. It is also striking that in the 1658 Hollar illustration, the shield, helm and lance of the duke are hung on the right hand side of the drawing but in the original Sedgwick illustration, these were not shown on the tomb. Sedgwick's sketch suggests that these armaments were hung nearby and not on the tomb itself, **figures 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10**.¹⁵¹ A certain amount of artistic licence was employed by Hollar. A number of illustrations of brasses were evidently 'touched up' such as the very impressive memorial for Thomas de Eure, dean of St Paul's who died in 1400, **figure 2.11**. This displayed a brass effigy of the dean set onto a slab with two indents for his heraldic arms on either side of his head set under a canopied arch and with side shafts on either side of his effigy containing saints. In the upper canopy is a roundel containing the

¹⁴⁹ Whittemore, 'Sir William Dugdale', 25.

¹⁵⁰ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 73-103.

¹⁵¹ S.H. Wander, 'The Tombs of Old St Paul's Cathedral', *Il Conoscitore di Stampe*, 52 (1981), 2-25.

Annunciation.¹⁵² This is almost certainly incorrect because this was not a feature of medieval brasses. It is another instance of Hollar adding something new to the memorial in order to make it more distinctive.

And yet in spite of these shortcomings, the *History* remains an important record of the now lost medieval monuments from old St Paul's Cathedral. It shows that not all of the brasses were destroyed during the sixteenth century: it is noteworthy that many of those which had survived were of the Cathedral clergy themselves. Perhaps it was their successors, the canons of the sixteenth century, who preserved them from iconoclasts. It is also a notable feature that many of these brasses for the canons were in chapels: Thomas de Eure was buried in the Chapel of St Thomas. This may have safeguarded the memorials as they could be locked away. It seems incredible that a brass as rich in Catholic imagery, especially the figures of saints in the side-shafts and on the orphrey of dean de Eure, should survive the destructive tendencies of die-hard Protestants who did their best to remove as much as they could from St Pauls' in the sixteenth century. Dugdale recorded the loss of eleven monuments (probably brasses) for former bishops of London, and at least three for the laity, sold to 'copper-smiths and tinkers'.¹⁵³

With the exception of the four monuments illustrated by Sir Thomas Wriothesley in his 'Book of Funerals', the twenty-six drawings of medieval tombs published in Dugdale's *History* are the only other illustrations of medieval London tombs which have survived. In spite of their occasional 'improvements'

¹⁵² Dugdale (1658), 44.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 31-32.

they remain an important set of drawings which show the extent of funerary commemoration in the medieval Cathedral.

Conclusion

The written records of London's lost tombs are a rich account. While many of the sources repeat information derived from others, they also supply important new information on particular tombs and also reveal the existence of otherwise unknown monuments. The heraldic manuscripts, for example, were more precise on the location of burials, especially for the aristocracy at the Black Friars, than elsewhere. This was not a concern of later studies of the Dominican burials. Elsewhere the editions made by Munday and Stype of *A Survey of London* contain information about tombs which were omitted by Stow. The selectivity of the sources is a common feature of almost all these accounts

Stow himself was likewise interested in certain tombs and in particular the worthies of London, the city's former mayors, alderman, sheriffs and charitable exemplars. He was not as interested in their wives, nor was he keen to promote the remembrance of those responsible for the defacement and loss of London's commemorative heritage. Similarly Weever was also influenced by those epitaphs which were unusual and distinctive: although he probably only recorded a portion of what was extant, many of his entries from London are the only record of some tombs which were left out of the various editions of the *Survey*. On the other hand, it seems that Dugdale endeavoured to make as full account of the cathedral tombs as he could, but in this he was restricted by an

already very worn cathedral, and a political climate which made accurate recording difficult. The engravings he commissioned from Hollar had to be of high quality because the intervening seventeen years, between his first survey at the cathedral and the publication of his work in 1658, had seen the loss and defacing of many tombs. Hence touching up the engravings had become a necessity.

These written records also show the vulnerability of monuments and grave spaces. The register from the Grey Friars was in all likelihood made in response to the growing demands for prestigious burial places within the convent. The reuse of grave space is evident in the later entries of the 1520s and 1530s. And as the heralds went around defacing erroneous monuments so memorials with incorrect heraldry become increasingly vulnerable. In the parish of St George which appears to have been relatively conservative in its attitude to funerary monuments, and which retained an impressive series of largely fifteenth century brasses still in 1574, we know that one of their brasses had become loose and was reused elsewhere by 1544. Iconoclasm led to much loss and the roll call of the lost brasses of London's bishops in St Paul's Cathedral, made by Dugdale, is a sorrowful indictment of the zealous and aggressive actions of the reformers. But the apparent survival of other memorials, particularly for the Cathedral clergy, suggests that their successors may have been responsible for safeguarding and preserving other funerary monuments and that they took a stand against the iconoclasts.

Each of these accounts suggests that London's commemorative landscape was rich in monumental brasses. From the descriptions of many of those from the Grey Friars we know that at least 384 tombs were flat and either incised or of brass. And the evidence from the St George's burial list, the monumental inscriptions copied down by Weever – many of which were standard texts from brasses – and the series of engravings made by Sedgwick and Hollar suggest that the floors of many city churches were covered with monumental brasses for Londoners and which would originally have sparkled brightly. And yet these were not the only tombs commissioned. The elite, both aristocratic and civic, seem to have enjoyed larger, and more visible and distinctive tombs, often of sculptured effigies, for themselves and their wives. The few drawings which have survived also show that such monuments were painted and that these, like the brasses, would have been colourful and eye-catching to visitors.

Chapter 3: The Loss of London's Tombs

Sixty-three surviving tombs, either in churches, museums or as palimpsests, have been identified from medieval London.¹ This is a very small number for a city as large as medieval London. This chapter will consider the reasons for this and how different enterprises, accidental and intended, have led to the loss of London's tombs.

The Pre-Reformation Loss of London Monuments

During conservation work carried out on the brass of James Donet, an esquire who died in 1409, in the parish church of St Margaret, Rainham (Kent), a palimpsest inscription was found on the reverse. This recorded '+ Letice de Wate iadis la fem(me) Thom(a)s ate Wyche stoke/fisshmongere gist icy dieu de salme eit mercy Amen' (Letice de Wate formerly the wife of Thomas atte Wyche stockfishmonger lies here. God have mercy on her soul. Amen').² The French inscription has been dated to c. 1380, **figure 3.1**. A will survives for Leticia atte Wiche (d. 1361), widow of Thomas, a stockfishmonger who died between 1356 and 1361. In her will Leticia asked to be buried in the porch of St Martin Orgar. Her will does not refer to a tomb but she evidently had at least an inscription brass over her grave.³ The importance of this palimpsest brass is that it shows how quickly such memorials could become worn in city churches especially

¹ Chapter 1.

² [W. Lack], 'Around the Country: Kent', *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society*, 118 (October 2011), 350.

³ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/089.

those at an entrance way such as in the porch. The atte Wiche brass to be dated c. 1380 subsequently had a “lifespan” of little more than thirty years before it had apparently become loose and was discarded. The metal was evidently bought by one of the London marblers and who used it again when constructing the memorial for James Donet who died in 1409.

The Donet/atte Wiche palimpsests suggests that some brasses in London were rapidly reused and that this practice did not begin at the Reformation. Archaeological discoveries also show that other memorials, especially brasses, were removed as a matter of practicality rather than in response to religious change. This is particularly striking at the site of New Abbey, also known as St Mary Graces, in East Smithfield where a redundant incised Purbeck marble grave slab was used to form the threshold of the south porch of the presbytery.⁴ Elsewhere in their church, another marble slab, containing the indent of a former brass, was used in the entranceway between the cloister and the kitchen.⁵ This slab has been dated to the early fourteenth century and its reuse is important because it had evidently been brought from elsewhere. The abbey was founded in 1350 by Edward III and built anew. There was no earlier building on the site and these reused slabs, found during excavation, must therefore have been brought from other sites for use as building rubble. One of the masons involved in the building work was John Tyrington (fl. 1325-61), a royal mason, who perhaps had access to unwanted

⁴ I. Grainger and C. Phillpotts, *The Cistercian Abbey of St Mary Graces, East Smithfield, London* (London, 2011), 24-25.

⁵ *Ibid*, 28.

memorials from other churches and which were reused in the structure of the newly built Cistercian house.⁶

City churches themselves went through periods of rebuilding activity, particularly during the fifteenth century when at least 42% of the city churches were either completely rebuilt or had major extensions and redevelopment.⁷ Archaeology has also shown how older memorials were reused in the fabric of these city churches when the mason probably used unwanted tombs where the stone had become unreadable. On the site of St Bartholomew the Little, demolished in 1840, Lombardic lettering for one 'Delaware' was found in 2010.⁸ Delaware is unknown. The lettering is set in a marginal inscription in Purbeck marble and dates to c. 1325. It was later used during the fifteenth century to form the top of three steps leading from the ground floor of the tower in to the church itself. It was apparently not thought sufficiently important to keep this memorial in the new church and it was removed and used in the fabric of the new building.

Elsewhere, we know that tombstones were sold as part of a clearance strategy supervised by parish churchwardens.⁹ This was the case at St Michael Cornhill where in 1456, 6s 8d was 'payd to a Marbler for the remevyng of

⁶ J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550*, (2nd edition, Stroud, 1987), 304.

⁷ This figure is based on the eleven rebuilds and the twenty-nine re-orderings identified in the 108 parish churches surveyed by J. Schofield in 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: A Review', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 45 (1994), 23-146.

⁸ S. Freeth, 'A Lombardic marginal inscription discovered in the City of London', *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society*, 115 (September 2010), 290-291.

Gravestones wtyn the Church and fylling upon ayen of ye same wt marble.¹⁰

For the churchwardens, answerable to the parish, to do this would suggest that it was not an uncommon practice and would not be met with resistance from parishioners: it was very much business as usual. Later at St Mary at Hill in the accounts for 1477-79, 6s 8d was received from the sale of 'an olde Gravestone' and later in 1492-93 'Master Brande' paid 5s for another gravestone.¹¹ We do not know who Master Brande was and there are no known London marblers of this name. These references tell us on that the sale of unwanted memorials from a city church was commonplace. In 1496-97, the churchwardens of St Mary at Hill sold a gravestone to the executors of the grocer, Thomas Revell (d. 1497) for 6s 8d.¹² Revell was himself the son of the alderman, Robert Revell (d. 1490) who had been buried in the chapel of St Stephen, in St Mary at Hill and whose memorial there was recorded by John Stow.¹³ Stow did not record a tomb for the younger Revell but it seems likely that one was certainly intended. Thomas Revell is unusual because he directed his burial to be in the choir of St Stephen's chapel in St Mary at Hill rather than in his own parish church of St Botolph.¹⁴ Thomas Revell evidently preferred burial near to his father's grave than in his own parish church. It is particularly striking that Revell did not make any request for a memorial in his will and yet we know that his executors, his

⁹ S. Badham 'Medieval Greens: Recycling Brasses and their Slabs', *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society*, 93, (May 2003) 673-674.

¹⁰ W.H. Overall, ed., *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish Church of St Michael Cornhill, in the City of London, from 1456-1608* (London, 1871), 7-9.

¹¹ H. Littlehales, ed., *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St Mary at Hill) A.D. 1420-1559* (2nd edition, Woodbridge, 2002), 78 and 183.

¹² *Ibid*, 222; for Revell's will see, TNA: PRO, PROB 11/11 ff. 103r-103v.

¹³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 209. The Revell family are discussed further in C.A. Martin, 'Dame Margery Astry', *The Ricardian*, XIV (2004), 1-31.

¹⁴ Revell did not record which St Botolph he was a parishioner of but it was probably the adjacent parish of St Botolph Billingsgate, next to St Mary at Hill.

widow Joan, Oliver Daniel, skinner, and Sir John Tillesley, priest, arranged this through their purchase of an older gravestone, from the churchwardens at St Mary at Hill, to reuse for Revell.

The evidence from palimpsests, archaeological excavations and from these fifteenth century churchwardens' accounts suggests that it was an accepted practice to remove unwanted, and presumably worn, older tombs in order to make way for newer ones. There is also testamentary evidence which shows that graves and monuments were not left undisturbed: some families took steps to exhume bodies, transplant them elsewhere, and to arrange a newer – and probably better – tomb at the new gravesite. The testamentary concerns of the grocer, William Narborough (d. 1491) are especially telling: he arranged for the bodies of his parents, William (d. 1470) and Elizabeth (d. 1483) to be exhumed and reburied elsewhere in the Crutched Friars where he arranged for a new memorial for them.¹⁵ It is very likely that William junior was carrying out his mother's instructions because he made his own will (in which he arranged for his parents exhumation) on 5 September 1483 only a matter of weeks after he had been granted probate of his mother's estate on 21 August of that year.¹⁶ The practice of removing bodies was not an unknown event: there were, for example, charnel houses at St Paul's Cathedral and at the hospital of

¹⁵ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/9 ff. 9r-10v.

¹⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/7 ff. 52v-53r. Elizabeth was evidently gravely ill as she had made her own will on 8 August 1483 and probate was granted to her son William within two weeks. It is likely that she gave verbal instruction to her son about her grave and memorial. This particular tomb is discussed further in, C. Steer, 'better in remembrance': Medieval Commemoration at the Crutched Friars, London', *CM*, 25 (2010), 36-57.

St Mary without Bishopsgate.¹⁷ The removal of bodies and of their tombs was practical and met the needs of an urban population living in a confined space. And elsewhere in London, members of the aristocracy were not permanently left in their graves: this is particularly noticeable for those who had died unexpectedly either as prisoners of war or executed as traitors. The French hostage, John duke of Bourbon, for instance, captured at Agincourt, who died in captivity in 1434, was at first buried in the London Grey Friars. Sixteen years later a licence was granted to exhume his remains and to return them to France for burial at the discretion of the duke's son and successor.¹⁸ English peers were likewise buried in London's mendicant houses, including John de Vere, earl of Oxford (ex. 1462) and his widow Elizabeth (d. 1473). The earl and countess were originally buried in the Austin Friars but the earl's servant, James Arblaster (d. 1492), in his will referred to his own wish to be buried in Colne Priory (Essex) at the feet of the tomb of his late master, John de Vere, and his wife Elizabeth.¹⁹ They had evidently been moved from London to the de Vere mausoleum in Essex almost certainly on the instructions of their son, John de Vere (d. 1513) following his return to England in 1485. Filial duty meant that parents, whether Londoners or from the nobility, were to be buried in a place befitting their wealth and status, and if necessary they were dug up and moved elsewhere.

¹⁷ J. Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren* (Swindon, 2011), pp. 173-174; C. Thomas, B. Sloane and C. Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital* (London, 1997), 68-78. The removal of bodies as accepted practice is discussed further in V. Harding, 'Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London' in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester, 1995), pp. 119-135. See also her *The Dead and the Living in Parish and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002), 119-146.

¹⁸ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Henry VI, VI, 1446-52* (London, 1909), 410.

Tomb Destruction in the City of London during the Reformation

On 18 August 1554, Giaocomo Sorenzo, the Venetian Ambassador wrote:

... On the banks of the river [Thames] there are many large palaces, making a very fine show, but the city is much disfigured by the ruins of a multitude of churches and monasteries.²⁰

The loss of tombs in Reformation London was sudden, unprecedented in scale and had an immediate and lasting impact on the city's commemorative heritage. The religious houses were shut down, their sites redeveloped for secular use and their furnishings ripped out; the parish churches were likewise just as vulnerable and some, such as St Nicholas Shambles, were closed down and merged with other parishes, before being demolished in order to ease traffic congestion. Vestments, wall paintings, stained glass, sculpture and plate were sold or destroyed. For memorials of the dead, the Reformation was 'the heyday for the destruction of brasses' together with all other funerary monuments.²¹

The celebrated antiquarian, John Stow (1525-1605) was particularly scathing in his attack on those church authorities, and individuals, who were responsible for the destruction of city church monuments. At St Dunstan in the East, for example, he referred to '.. and many other worshipfull personages

¹⁹ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/9 f. 124r; see also, J. Ross, *John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford, 1442-1513 'The Foremost Man of the Kingdom'* (Woodbridge, 2011), 206-207.

²⁰ R. Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, IV, 1534-1554 (London, 1873), 543.

²¹ J. Bertram, *Lost Brasses* (Newton Abbot, 1976), 15.

besides, whose monuments are altogether defaced'.²² This is a frequent lament from Stow who was upset at the many tombs he had seen, left in a sorrowful and pitiable state. But he reserved his strongest criticism for those who had personally overseen the destruction and sale of city memorials; he was particularly incensed by William Paulet, later Marquis of Winchester (d. 1572), who at the site of the Austin Friars had 'sold the Monuments of noble men there buried in great number, the paving stone and whatsoever (which cost many thousands) for one hundred pounds, in place thereof made fayre stabling for horses'.²³ And one cannot help but wonder what Stow really thought when he sardonically remarks that the churchwardens at All Hallows Staining had to pay 12s. for extra brooms, plus carriage costs, to remove their own church monuments.²⁴ Stow smugly suggests that any profit made was lost on the cost of removing the tombs.

The surrender of the monasteries in 1538 had catastrophic consequences for monuments for the dead. This was a national loss where generations of tombs were removed as part of the piecemeal destruction and sale of these religious houses and their estates.²⁵ Some local landlords, particularly the aristocracy, took steps to save the tombs of their ancestors: Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk (1473-1554) had his family tombs moved from Thetford Priory (Norfolk) to the parish church of St Michael Framlingham

²² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 135.

²³ *Ibid*, i, 177.

²⁴ *Ibid*, i, 204.

²⁵ P. Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007), 4-52.

(Suffolk) where they remain.²⁶ Yet there is little evidence of such activity in London where the nobility seemed unwilling to prevent the desecration of their ancestors resting places. Stow was horrified at this loss and he was likewise scathing in his condemnation of Sir Martin Bowes, the city mayor in 1545-46, for selling off nine alabaster tombs and 'seven-score gravestones' (140) from the London Grey Friars for '50 pounds, or thereabouts'.²⁷ And yet as we have seen, the widow Mary Danet (d. 1558) apparently arranged for her husband's brass, and probably his body, to be taken from the London Black Friars and buried at their country estate in Tilty (Essex).²⁸ Archaeological surveys have found a number of empty graves from this Dominican house which suggests others were taken out and moved elsewhere as well.²⁹ Another London widow, dame Joan Milbourne (d. 1545) also arranged for her husband's body to be exhumed from the Crutched Friars and taken with their joint tomb to St Edmund Lombard Street.³⁰ This suggests that some effort was made in London to save tombs but these were few and driven by the widows whose husbands' remembrance was under threat.

Other tombs from some of London's religious houses were saved through the conversion of the houses into a parish church or chapels. Sir Richard Gresham, as mayor, was particularly industrious in achieving this. Through his intervention, the church at the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre

²⁶ P. Lindley, 'Disrespect for the dead'? The destruction of tomb monuments in mid-sixteenth-century England', *CM*, 19 (2004), 53-79.

²⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 322.

²⁸ Chapter 1.

²⁹ C. Thomas and B. Watson with a contribution from J. Bowsher, 'The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London: An Archaeological Review', in N. Rogers, ed., *The Friars in Medieval Britain* (Donington, 2010), 265-297 at 269-270.

continued as the Mercers' Chapel, and the chapel of the Holy Cross at the Hospital of St Bartholomew formed a new parish church of St Bartholomew the Little.³¹ But these were the lucky ones. For the mendicant houses, for example, over 1,000 church monuments were taken out, the brass sold (and sometimes used as palimpsests) and the alabaster effigies presumably pounded down and used as mortar. It was a cataclysmic loss.

Stow's account also shows that a number of city churches had already responded to legislation against imagery and idolatry by selling off their monuments. Brasses were, of course, particularly vulnerable for those churches which sought to profit from the religious changes; this was a re-usable metal and therefore a financially lucrative, albeit one-off, means of funding the parish.³² For London, the 1552 inventories record the sale of church goods from ninety-five parish churches. Of these fifty-five referred to the sale of latten which is summarised in Appendix 2.³³ This general term, 'latten' may have included brass monuments as well as other items such as plate, candlesticks and bowls. But if the sale of this latten from all fifty five parishes included monumental brasses, then this means that 55% of the London churches sold off some, or all, of their brasses.

³⁰ Steer, 'better in remembrance', 50.

³¹ Barron and Davies, 108-112 (Hospital of St Thomas of Acre) and 149-154 (Hospital of St Bartholomew).

³² R. Hutchinson, 'Tombs of Brass are Spent: Reformation Reuse of Monumental Brasses' in D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist, ed., *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003), 450-468.

³³ H.B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation* (London, 1939); for a general discussion on the use of the 1552 inventories see, E. Duffy 'The End of it All: The Material Culture of the

The 1552 inventories sometimes refer to the specific sale of gravestones from London churches. At All Hallows on the Wall, for example, thirty pounds of metal 'was taken upon the grave stones and other moluments (sic)' and sold to Christopher Stubbs for 6s 8d.³⁴ A similar sale took place at All Hallows the Great where 15d was received from Richard Thornwood as payment for the 'copper plate that was taken out of a grave-stone'.³⁵ Stubbs and Thornwood were evidently craftsmen for whom the metal had a financial value but it is not clear whether they were involved in tomb production and bought this plate for reuse on other brass memorials or for other use.³⁶ It is clear from the inventories that not all the monuments in the parish churches were being sold off: at St Martin Outwich, for instance, the sale of brass from gravestones was recorded yet we know that other such memorials survived from this church because they were moved to St Helen Bishopsgate before St Martin's was demolished in 1874.³⁷ This suggests, therefore, that some parish churches were selective and only sold off older monuments. City churches seem to have used the opportunity to reorder their church interiors and, in the case of monumental brasses, profited from the sale of reusable materials. As we have seen this was a common practice, what was unusual was the scale of the sales

Medieval English Parish and the 1552 Inventories of Church Goods', in C. Burgess and E. Duffy, eds., *The Parish in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2006), 381-399.

³⁴ Walters, *London Churches*, p. 118.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

³⁶ I am grateful to Jon Bayliss for his discussion on this point who has suggested that Stubbs may have been a misreading of Christopher Griggs, a better known London marbler active in 1563.

³⁷ Walters, *London Churches*, 397; for the brasses moved from St Martin Outwich see S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London* (London, 1997), 224-225.

These inventories suggest that many churches were simply taking the opportunity during Edward VI's reign to clear out unwanted tombs. Some churches were evidently more enthusiastic about this than others, but it was not a whole-scale stripping out and tearing down as Stow sometimes suggests. It varied from church to church and many parishes were clearly more interested in keeping their tombs than others, such as St Helen Bishopsgate and All Hallows Barking where many still remain. Stow also deplored the removal of bodies of London worthies. At St Mary Aldermary, for example, Stow wrote of the body of Henry Keble (d. 1518), a grocer and former mayor, '[Keble's] bones were unkindly cast out, and his monument pulled downe, in place whereof monuments are set up of the later buried'.³⁸ Stow did not approve of a patron as generous as Keble, who had paid for the rebuilding of the church in the early sixteenth century, being treated in this way. Yet the churchwardens would have been foolhardy to attempt such a removal had it not been a generally accepted practice. Furthermore, Keble was the grandfather of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy (d. 1544), who was buried in the same church.³⁹ Blount's son and heir, James, was a courtier to Queens Mary and Elizabeth and it seems unlikely that the churchwardens would undertake any action which would displease Keble's descendant. The church continued to receive the bodies of the Blount family and James' son and heir, William, Lord Mountjoy was himself buried in 1594.⁴⁰ While Stow was probably right when he tells us that Keble's body was removed, the emotional language used to describe this may have reflected

³⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 253.

³⁹ *Ibid*, i, 253.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, i, 253.

Stow's personal opinions: bodies had been removed for many years before and tombs reused. It was a common practice.

The Loss of Church Monuments in the Seventeenth Century and later

The churchwardens' accounts for All Hallows Barking record a payment of 16s. to William Shurlan 'for 'cutting out the superstitious letters out of the brasses in the church'.⁴¹ This payment was made on 13 March 1644 at the height of the Civil War and in a period when church monuments were under a new wave of attack and iconoclasm. For All Hallows Barking, there are several brasses which show where Shurlan had censored the offensive text; the brass of John Rusche (d. 1498), gentleman, for example, had the standard 'cuius anime propicietur Deus' (on whose soul may God have mercy) removed, **figure 3.2**. In this case we know what these lost words were because the inscription had been copied out thirty years earlier and later published in Strype's account.⁴² Shurlan was following his instructions to the letter and only removing what he had to. This is fortunate because it means that the rest of the text has survived intact. Curiously Shurlan did not censor all of the brasses in All Hallows Barking – the memorial for the woolman, John Bacon (d. 1437) and his wife Joan still has a request for God to have mercy on their souls. The memorial may have been covered or obscured by furnishings; Shurlan might also have been slack; he may even have demanded more money and not completed the work.

⁴¹ LMA, P69/ALH1/H/05/001 f. 150r. I am grateful to Pat Naylor for her assistance with this reference.

Elsewhere in the city, other 'superstitious' inscriptions were being erased. The churchwardens' accounts for St Michael Wood Street, St Dunstan in the West, St Helen Bishopsgate and St James Garlickhithe all record such losses.⁴³ For St Dunstan in the West, a payment of 40s was made to Edward Marshall who was himself a marbler who engraved monumental brasses.⁴⁴ We also know that the churchwardens' at St Bartholomew the Less ordered the removal of idolatrous texts because their surviving brass for the gentleman, William Markeby (d.1439) and his wife Alice (d. 1479), also has the request for prayers for God's mercy removed. An earlier copy made of this inscription recorded that it ended with 'quorum animabus propicietur Deus'.⁴⁵ In her analysis Julie Spraggon, found twenty nine city parishes which undertook to remove idolatrous texts and images in 1641-42, including the lettering from memorial inscriptions.⁴⁶ But unlike earlier attacks on memorials this censorship was co-ordinated and only selective parts of the memorial were affected.

These accounts show how certain parishes organised tomb censorship. Such activities were not always controlled and in the case of St Paul's Cathedral, Sir William Dugdale (1605-86) wrote of the devastation wrought on the city's principal church during the Civil War. He was loud in his condemnation of Parliamentarian soldiers when he wrote:

⁴² Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 33.

⁴³ T. Cooper, 'Brass, glass and crosses: identifying iconoclasm outside the Journal' in T. Cooper, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2001), 89-106 at 104.

⁴⁴ A. White, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors, c. 1560-c.1660', *The Walpole Society*, 61 (1999), 83-95.

⁴⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 232.

⁴⁶ J. Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003), 144, table 1.

What may we do, that have lately seen the destruction of this magnificent church, once the glory of our principal city, and of the whole nation; and the Monuments of so many famous men in their times thus torn in pieces; yea, their very bones and dust pulled out of their graves, in hope to discover some treasure or jewels buried with them? ⁴⁷

Dugdale tells us that several tombs in the Cathedral had remained intact until 'the storm of this last fatal destruction'. Amongst those destroyed were the monuments for Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln (d. 1311), John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (d. 1399) with his first wife Blanche (d. 1368), together with the tombs of twenty-four bishops.⁴⁸ The removal of 'offensive' items from St Paul's took place between 1641 and 1645; this seems to have been co-ordinated on instructions from the city aldermen but the use of the Cathedral as a barracks until at least 1651 had, without doubt, led to the plundering and destruction of graves and church monuments which Dugdale so deplored.⁴⁹

The damage wrought on the Cathedral monuments was devastating but it was but nothing when compared to the destructive onslaught of the Great Fire of 1666. As a single event this was the most devastating element in the history of London's tomb monuments, with eighty seven parish churches and the old Cathedral of St Paul's destroyed or damaged within a few days in September 1666.⁵⁰ The Cathedral was rebuilt and fragments of those sculptured tombs which had survived the fire were kept and are now on display in the crypt. These are largely late sixteenth century tomb effigies such as that for Sir

⁴⁷ Dugdale (1658), 34.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 32-33.

⁴⁹ Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 93-95 and 199.

⁵⁰ Schofield, 'Saxon and medieval parish churches in the City of London', 24.

Thomas Heneage (d. 1594). An account by the antiquary Thomas Dingley (d. 1695) suggests that some cathedral memorial slabs had also survived including the damaged brass for Ralph de Hengham, chief justice of the king's bench and later of the common bench (d. 1311). Dingley published a drawing of this brass which he seems to have seen after the 1666 fire, **figure 3.3**. The figure is gone, presumably melted, but the indents of the inscription were copied out by Dingley.⁵¹ He also saw what was left of the brass for Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London (d. 1404), **figure 3.4**. By the time Dingley saw it, only the head and one shield from the brass were remaining alongside a marginal inscription shown in Dingley's drawing.⁵² Dingley is not always clear as to whether he had seen particular tombs or whether he simply copied out interesting references from other sources, such as John Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments*. But for Braybrooke it seems likely that part of the brass had survived the fire because Dingley also says he saw the body of the bishop 'since ye late great Conflagracion' and which had been perfectly preserved. Whatever slabs had survived with indents and the remains of the brass, they were evidently discarded and possibly used in the foundations of the new Cathedral. Nothing is known to have survived from those city churches which had also perished during the 1666 fire.

Eighty-seven churches were lost in the Fire but twenty-one survived. On-going church renewal and reordering continued in the city during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In St Andrew Cornhill, for

⁵¹ J.G. Nichols, ed., 'History from Marble Compiled in the Reign of Charles II by Thomas Dingley, Gent.', *Camden Society*, 97 (1868), 440.

example, there is an eighteenth century brass inscription placed in what appears to be for an indent to a lost Trinity on the brass of the mercer Nicholas Leveson (d. 1539) and his wife Denys (d. 1560). This inscription records that the parish restored this tomb in 1764. It is likely that the tomb was also moved at this date. In his will Leveson directed that he should be buried 'within the tombe made before the upper pillar on ye northside of the parrishe church of seynt Andrewe Undershaft of London, that is to wete between the high aulter and the Aulter of the North yle.'⁵³ It is now set onto the north-east wall. Elsewhere in the city, St Botolph Aldgate, which had survived the fire, was completely rebuilt by George Dance between 1741 and 1744. The medieval church of St Martin Outwich was also demolished and rebuilt in 1796.⁵⁴ The Darcy/Carew monument was transferred from the old church of St Botolph Aldgate - perhaps because of their role in the Pilgrimage of Grace - and a number of tombs were likewise moved in to the new church building of St Martin Outwich (discussed below).

Nineteenth century rebuilding continued to affect the medieval tombs in the city of London. One of the saddest losses was the destruction of the former hospital of St Katherine by the Tower in 1825. 'Greed of gain destroyed it' in order to make way for the new docks to serve Britain's growing trade.⁵⁵ Only the tomb of John Holland, duke of Exeter (d. 1447) and two of his duchesses was retained and this was moved to the new foundation in Regents Park. In a

⁵² Ibid, 441.

⁵³ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/27 ff. 250v-251v. I am grateful to Stephen Freeth for his comments on this brass.

drawing of this tomb by John Carter in c. 1780, **figure 3.5**, it is possible to see a number of shaded floor monuments. We cannot be certain but it seems that there were also some brasses and/or indents which were lost during the demolition of the church. City churches were also demolished such as St Bartholomew the Little (1840) and St Martin Outwich (1874). Nothing was saved or reused from St Bartholomew the Little but the alabaster tomb of John de Oteswich (d.c.1400) and the canopied tomb for Hugh Pemberton, a merchant taylor (d. 1500), and his family were moved from St Martin Outwich to the nearby church of St Helen Bishopsgate. Brasses for two former rectors John Breux (d. 1459) and Nicholas Wotton (d. 1483) were also take to St Helen Bishopsgate.

By the time the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments came to make their survey in the 1920s, only six parish churches were left which contained pre-1540 monuments.⁵⁶ These were; All Hallows Barking, St Andrew Cornhill, St Bartholomew the Little, St Bartholomew the Great, St Helen Bishopsgate, and St Olave Hart Street.⁵⁷ All these churches were in the north-east and east of the city in the area which had escaped the fire. Other medieval tombs had survived at the Temple Church in Fleet Street, at the Rolls Chapel (now part of King's College, University of London) and at St Katherine's Chapel

⁵⁴ Schofield, 'Saxon and medieval parish churches in the City of London, 95-96 (St Botolph Aldgate) and 111-116 (St Martin Outwich).

⁵⁵ W. Besant, *London* (London, 1892), pp. 53-55.

⁵⁶ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, 5 vols (London, 1924-1930).

⁵⁷ There were no pre-1540 monuments from St Giles Cripplegate (which survived the 1666 fire) as these had perished in an earlier fire of the 1540s.

in Regents Park where the Exeter tomb had been relocated.⁵⁸ There is also a tomb in St Botolph Aldgate for Thomas, Lord Darcy and Sir Nicholas Carew who were executed in 1537, but this is a retrospective monument from c.1560. Further loss was to take place during the Blitz when All Hallows Barking and St Olave Hart Street were bombed. Most of their monuments survived but the canopied tomb, thought to have been for Sir Robert Tate (d. 1500), from All Hallows Barking was lost. The Temple church was also very badly damaged during the Second World War and the remarkable series of thirteenth century knightly effigies suffered from burning debris.

Medieval monuments in the city of London remain vulnerable. Terrorist attacks in the city in 1992 and 1993 caused significant damage to St Ethelburga and St Helen Bishopsgate. The monuments at St Helen were not affected during the attack but during the restoration work the floor has been raised which has threatened the visibility of their memorials; the newly found indent for the herald Thomas Benolt (d. 1534) and his two wives was found during the restoration work but the decision was made to rebury the slab beneath the floor and this important indent for a medieval herald was not kept on display. The early seventeenth century tomb for Sir John Spence (d. 1609) now appears sunk within the floor level with the lower portion of this very impressive Jacobean monument now obscured. And as late as September 2012 a fridge partly covered the memorial brass of John Leventhorpe, esquire (d. 1510).

⁵⁸ The Exeter tomb was moved again in 1952 and it is now in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula

Conclusion

Medieval tombs disappeared from London churches for a variety of reasons. One of the most important is that tomb destruction during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was generally more accepted than has previously been thought. The reuse of unwanted monuments during rebuilding activities is evident. But so too is the sale of memorials by churchwardens, sales which do not appear to have been met with any resistance and which may perhaps have provided some materials for later commissions by executors responsible for the commemorative needs of others. This seems to have been accepted as a common practice. An earlier tradition of deliberately removing tombs perhaps helps to explain why many city churches chose to sell off some of their unwanted funerary monuments during the reign of Edward VI. Changes in religious legislation gave their churchwardens the opportunity to reorder their fixtures and fittings within their churches.

Yet acts of iconoclasm did take place. Stow recalled acts of destruction and Dugdale too recorded the unpleasantness of the Parliamentary militia when they were allowed to vandalise and destroy much of what was left in St Paul's Cathedral. The Civil War also produced early censorship and in this the bureaucratic tendencies of men such as William Shurban, who only erased what was controversial, has meant that the remaining parts of many compositions have survived relatively unscathed. But the 1666 Great Fire, further church rebuilding and restoration, the onslaught of war and terror,

together with further Victorian restorations, have all taken their toll on medieval monuments within the city of London. Yet while the material evidence is slight, with sixty-three extant memorials, the written record is rich.

Chapter 4: The Parish Churches of London

The parish church was a natural theatre in the Middle Ages.¹ It was a place of baptism, of marriage and of worship and for many parishioners, and their families, it was their place of burial.² Interments inside the church were for the affluent and those of high status: in rural communities it was largely the local gentry who dominated this space while in urban environments it was the civic elite, that is those who had held civic office, and the wealthy tradesmen who came to enjoy this privilege.³ Studies by Vanessa Harding have shown the importance of the parish church as a place of burial for Londoners.⁴ This chapter will examine this further and in particular the extent of commemoration in city churches, the types of memorials used and what instructions, if any, were given on the commissioning OF these monuments. This chapter will also consider why some parish churches contained more burials than others: constraints on space undoubtedly determined some choices. But there were also other reasons why some churches had a larger number of burials than parishes elsewhere in the city. Any conclusions are influenced by the selectivity of the sources and in particular the accounts made by

¹ I am grateful to Paul Cockerham for his engaging discussion on burial in the parish church and for his comments on the ideas explored in this chapter.

² N.J.G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge, 2000), 492-496; G.H. Cook, *The English Mediaeval Parish Church* (London, 1956), 40-60.

³ S. Badham and P. Cockerham, eds, *'The beste and fairest of al Lincolnshire': The Church of St Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments* (Oxford, 2012), especially the remarks by P. Cockerham in 'Conclusion', 156-169; N. Saul, 'The Gentry and the Parish' in C. Burgess and E. Duffy, eds, *The Parish in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2006), 243-260; D. Crouch, 'Death in Medieval Scarborough', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 72 (2000), 67-72; C.M. Barnett, 'Commemoration in the Parish Church: Identity and Social Class in Late Medieval York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 72 (2000), 73-92.

⁴ V. Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002); V. Harding, 'Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London' in Steven Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester, 1992), 119-135.

the heralds and by John Stow of those tombs which were of more interest to them than others.⁵ The record of parish burial is therefore unlikely to be complete but some patterns may be observed.

Burial in a London Parish Church

There were 108 parish churches in medieval London. From the written and extant evidence, ninety of these churches contained 1043 funerary monuments.⁶ These are summarized by parish church in the table in Appendix 3. In some instances the written accounts noted the year of death but for many other monuments this was not recorded. In order to date as many of these tombs as possible, a search has been made for the wills of those commemorated on them. From this, 728 (70%) memorials can satisfactorily be dated.

The table in Appendix 3 lists each of the ninety parish churches of London with the number of pre-1540 tombs recorded in them. These figures are the collective totals based on the antiquarian accounts, surviving tombs, palimpsests and archaeological finds. Where possible, they have been dated into fifty year periods with the exception of the final category which stops at 1540, the end of the period under study. This information has been related to the study by John Schofield on the building work undertaken in many city churches during the late

⁵ Chapter 2.

⁶ There were no pre-1540 monuments recorded in the other seventeen parish churches. Some, such as St Nicholas Shambles and St Audoen had been dismantled; others, as will be discussed, were rebuilt in the later Middle Ages and their older tombs destroyed such as St Margaret Pattens.

medieval period.⁷ This is also recorded in the table. Because the size of the parish could account for a larger number of tombs in some city churches than in others, the number of communicants, based on the 1548 chantry certificates, has also been incorporated.⁸

It has been remarked that 'there is no period at which money was lavished so freely on English parish churches as in the fifteenth century'.⁹ This is true of London. From Schofield's analysis, 42% of city churches, thirty-eight out of ninety churches, are known to have been rebuilt or modified in the 100 years or so before the Reformation. An inevitable consequence of such enterprises was that earlier, older memorials were threatened by these works and in many cases older tombs were removed and destroyed. This appears to be the case at, for example, St Stephen Walbrook (rebuilt in 1429), St Bartholomew the Little (1438), St Mary Woolchurch (1440s) and St Dionis Backchurch (1440s). None of these churches contains any tombs which pre-date their rebuilding works. Likewise, construction work in the sixteenth century also influenced the survival of older memorials. St Margaret Pattens was entirely rebuilt in 1538 and there are no funerary monuments recorded from this church before this date. In some cases the heralds had already made an account of the monuments before they were lost. In the case of St Giles Cripplegate, Sir Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534) had recorded many

⁷ J. Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: a review', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 45 (1994), 23-146.

⁸ C.J. Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates*, (London Record Society, 16, (1980).

⁹ A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), 128.

tombs (including those for his family) before the church was destroyed by fire in 1545.¹⁰

Other churches, rebuilt in the fifteenth century, managed to retain some of their earlier monuments because of different circumstances and influences. At St Michael Bassishaw, the oldest tomb was recorded for Richard Sarich (d. 1359), rector, whose memorial was unaffected by the rebuilding work of the 1460s.¹¹ It is likely that his tomb, presumably in the chancel which was the usual place for the clergy to be buried, was in an area unaffected by the construction work. Elsewhere in the same church, the tomb of Thomas Bromefflete, esquire (d. 1406), also survived the rebuilding. It is perhaps telling that another member of this family, Edward, an esquire of Warwickshire, was himself buried near his kinsman in 1460.¹² Neither of these men has left a surviving will and we do not know how they were related but it seems that Edward's influence may have safeguarded the older Bromefflete tomb. It is the impact of church rebuilding which most probably explains why there are only ninety memorials recorded from city churches from before 1400. This is unlikely to be the true extent of early commemoration in London and it probably represents an "optical illusion" in that many of the earlier examples were either not identifiable or had become lost or reused by the time the written record was made in the sixteenth century.

¹⁰ Benolt 2, ff. 34v-35r.

¹¹ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol. 1, book 3, 67.

¹² Weever (1631), 696.

The number of communicants in each parish in 1548 shows the relative size of these communities. But this can be nothing more than an approximation particularly as the numbers were rounded up or down to the nearest one hundred. Nevertheless, this shows some notable results. Unsurprisingly larger parishes, such as All Hallows Barking, had a greater number of memorials; in this case thirty-one. This was probably influenced by the church remaining untouched by rebuilding work or the 1666 devastation with many opportunities to record the display of funerary monuments before the 1940 damage. There is a similar pattern elsewhere with nineteen tombs recorded from St Dunstan in the East, a parish about the same size as All Hallows Barking. Individual circumstance also account for fewer monuments than might be expected: the thirty two memorials recorded from St Giles Cripplegate are based on a single source, the heralds' account, which reflects those monuments which were of interest to Sir Thomas Wriothesley when he made his account before the 1545 fire. Many were for his family and there were almost certainly other tombs which he omitted. Of equal note are the large numbers of monuments recorded from smaller city parishes such as at St Alban Wood Street (38), St Leonard Eastcheap (25) and St John Zachary (23). This shows that the size of the parish did not always determine the number of monuments in their church.

The table in Appendix 3 shows that – unsurprisingly - from 1400 onwards, there was a steady increase in the numbers of recorded tombs from city churches. There were 173 noted from the first half of the fifteenth century and there were

undoubtedly others. There were substantially more monuments, 250, recorded from the latter part of the century. Schofield's analysis shows that rebuilding and reordering continued in city churches throughout the fifteenth century but that this slowed down in the closing decades which no doubt influenced the survival of older tombs.¹³ Memorials were now becoming more affordable, especially brasses, which may also account for these greater numbers.¹⁴ This 'boom' continued into the early sixteenth century.

A second table has been produced to show the tombs in the London parish churches based on social status. This is in Appendix 4 and records those for Londoners, gentry, clergy, nobility, alien visitors and those whose status has not been found. The written sources rarely noted the deceased's status or occupation. In order to identify many of them, testamentary records have been used to identify their trade or craft. This has identified the status for 773 particular individuals who were commemorated on funerary monuments. Unsurprisingly the largest number of tombs was for Londoners, 520 memorials (67%). If this percentage proportion is applied to those recorded tombs, where the craft of the deceased is unknown, then a further 180 out of 270 monuments in parish churches may also have been for Londoners. The table in Appendix 4 also shows that there were 192 (18%) recorded tombs for those who described themselves as of gentry status. This included lawyers, courtiers and those from the shires. There were even fewer

¹³ Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches', 76-77.

¹⁴ N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 110-111; R.H. D'Elboux, 'Testamentary Brasses', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 29 (1949), 183-191 at 187-191.

tombs recorded for the clergy with only forty-four (4%) tombs noted from city churches. The nobility rarely chose to be buried in a parish church in London: a notable exception was at St James Garlickhithe where six tombs were recorded for the aristocracy. This included monuments for members of the Stanley family and also for Katherine, countess of Huntingdon (d. 1484x1487), the illegitimate daughter of Richard III.¹⁵ Yet overall the city parish churches remained almost exclusive mausoleums for Londoners. This chapter will therefore focus on their burial and commemorative concerns.

The rare survival of a sixteenth century list of brasses from St George in Botolph Lane means that we are able to make use of a much fuller contemporary account of these tombs than for any other city church. St George's will therefore be taken as one of six case studies. This will be compared with the five city churches which contained the highest number of recorded tombs, St Alban Wood Street (38), St Lawrence Jewry (33), St Michael Cornhill (32), All Hallows Barking (31) and St Leonard Eastcheap (25). Although St Nicholas Shambles was destroyed in 1548 before any account could be made of its monuments, yet the churchwardens' accounts survive for the period 1452-1548. These will be compared with the 123 wills of the parishioners in this period to examine the intentions of the testator in the light of the payments made to the churchwardens.¹⁶ The suggested monuments from this particular church are excluded from the appendices because any conclusions are based on a different type of evidence and as a consequence

¹⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 249. Katherine Plantagenet and the importance of this city church are to be the subject of a separate study.

¹⁶ St Bartholomew's Hospital Archives (hereafter SBHA), SNC/1 and HA1/1.

not comparable to those accounts elsewhere made by the heralds and antiquarians.

St George (in Botolph Lane)

The survival of their list of monumental brasses enables close analysis of those commemorated.¹⁷ These fifteen brasses for the period to 1540 have been analysed in Appendix 4. They include the known palimpsest brass for the fishmonger, Richard Fitz-andrew (d. 1411), which was reused in 1544 as the brass of Richard and Alys Thornton at Holy Cross, Greenford (Middlesex).¹⁸ There are several striking observations from this analysis. Firstly, there are four brasses recorded between 1400 and 1449: the Fitz-andrew palimpsest suggests that there may have been others. This is comparable with the seven recorded memorials in 1450-99 which suggests that commemoration was constant in this particular city church throughout the fifteenth century. It is also notable that nine out of fifteen (60%) of the brasses are for Londoners. The other six (40%) represent those who described themselves as of gentry status, including Richard Bamme (d. 1453), a Londoner by birth but who had left the city for his estates in Kent and adopted gentry status. We therefore know that for Bamme he was, in a sense, a Londoner even though he had moved away.

¹⁷ Chapter 2.

¹⁸ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols (London, 1980), i, 45.

The burial of Richard Bamme, described on his brass as 'esquire' is one of the most notable burials from this church. He was the son of the goldsmith and former mayor and sheriff, Adam Bamme (d. 1397), who had been buried in the chancel of St George's and where he too had been commemorated by a memorial brass. Adam's widow, Margaret (d. 1431), wished to be buried with Adam but there is no record of her memorial.¹⁹ Their son Richard married Joan (d. 1431), the daughter of the chief justice John Marten who enjoyed a landed estate at Gillingham and Dartford (Kent).²⁰ In his will of 1452, Richard asked to be buried in the parish church of St George, London next to his father.²¹ Richard too was evidently buried in the chancel. It is curious that Richard did not wish to be buried in the church of St Mary Magdalene, Gillingham, where his wife Joan was already buried. Weever recorded an English inscription for Joan which referred to her son John Bamme (d. 1488) who lay nearby:

Here lyeth Joane Bamme, sometime the wife of Master Richard Bamme Esquire, daughter of John Marten, sometime chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, and mother of John Bamme, who lyeth on the North side of this Chappell. Which said Joanne deceased in the yeare of grace, 1431.²²

Because John Bamme died in 1488 it is likely that his mother's memorial was set up after his own death and that this had not been commissioned by his father, Richard. Instead Richard was more interested in his own burial in a London church

¹⁹ LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 275r. For Margaret see C. Rawcliffe, 'Margaret Stodeye, Lady Philipot (d. 1431)', in C.M. Barron and A.F. Sutton, eds, *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500* (London, 1994), 85-98.

²⁰ S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Michigan, 1992 edition), 322.

²¹ TNA PROB 11/1 ff. 132r-133r.

²² Weever (1631), 316.

alongside his father, a former mayor, and with his own brass recording Richard's elevated status as a county squire.

For the fifteen brass commemorations at St George's, nine wills have been found for those recorded on these brasses. And yet only one of these wills, for the merchant John St John (d. 1429), mentioned his tomb in the will. St John directed that he was to be buried under the marble stone over the grave of his late wife: this infers that she (he did not name her) was already commemorated with a brass set onto the marble stone.²³ Although this is a small sample, the wills of these testators buried in St George's show that only 6% referred to their tomb in their will. The others had presumably already made arrangements with others or left their tomb arrangements at the discretion of their executors and families.

St Alban Wood Street

The parish with the largest number of recorded tombs was St Alban Wood Street in the north of the city where thirty-eight monuments were noted. Schofield's analysis has shown that chapels were added during the fourteenth century when the church seems to have undergone a phase of rebuilding.²⁴ From the accounts left by Stow and Strype, we learn that the earliest tomb recorded in this church, was for the goldsmith, Simon de Barking (d. 1349) and his wife Lucy.²⁵ Stow did not include Lucy's name in his account and it is from Strype's copy of the Barking inscription

²³ LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 213r.

²⁴ Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches', 91-92.

²⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 297; Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 79.

that we learn of her, although he did not note her date of death. The brevity of their French inscription, 'Symond de Berking, & Lucie sa feme gisent, &c' suggests that this was copied from a memorial slab: it may have been incised or the inscription indented with separate lettering onto the stone. Barking was the King's goldsmith and clearly a man of some wealth.²⁶ Another fourteenth century memorial recorded from this church was for the mercer William Linchlade (d. 1392) and his wife, Alice.²⁷ Neither left a surviving will and we do not know what their burial arrangements were. Strype recorded their tomb as 'a fair plated stone by the communion table'. This, and the usual 'Hic iacet' words on the inscription show that the Linchades were wealthy enough to afford a brass memorial as their grave marker.

Six of the tombs from St Alban Wood Street can be dated to between 1400 and 1449. In his account, Strype included the inscriptions for Thomas Gloucester, painter, his wife, Alice (d. 1400) and their son John, the mercer John Woodcock (d. 1408), who preferred to describe himself as a gentleman and a mercer on his tomb, and the ironmonger, John Spoore (d. 1429).²⁸ The epitaphs for Woodcock and Spoore begin with the customary 'Hic iacet' which suggests that they, like the Barkings and Linchlades, may have had brass memorials. The inscription from the Gloucester memorial had evidently been truncated when it was copied down because it begins with 'Alice, wife of Thomas Gloucester' and without any standard

²⁶ For Barking, see T.F. Reddaway and L.E.M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509* (London, 1975), 282.

²⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 77.

²⁸ *Ibid*, i, book 3, 78 (Woodcock) and 79 (Gloucester and Spoore).

preamble. It is also recorded in English, and as English texts were unusual in the early fifteenth century it would seem likely that this inscription is an edited copy of the original.²⁹ Among these epitaphs, the inscription for John Woodcock is notable because it was different from standard 'Hic iacet' compositions, and rhymed:

Hic iacet in requie,
Woodcock Jon, vir generosus,
Maior Londoniae,
Mercerus, valde morosus.
Miles qui fuerat
M Domini mille
centum quarter ruit ille,
Cum x bis³⁰

(Here lies at rest,
John Woodcock, a gentleman,
Mayor of London
And a truly scrupulous merchant
He was a knight ...
In the year of our Lord a thousand
Four hundred and twenty)³¹

Given that part of this is lost it was probably a marginal inscription around the slab. It also seems to be personalised and is an unusual example of a Londoner who described himself as a mercer, a gentleman and a knight.

Strype also recorded six other inscriptions taken from monuments in the second half of the fifteenth century. Those for Sir Henry Waver, draper and former

²⁹ D. Griffith, 'English Commemorative Inscriptions: Some Literary Dimensions' in C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), pp. 251-270.

³⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1720) i, book 3, 78; Weever (1631), 393.

³¹ The inscription has apparently become corrupt. There is no record of Woodcock's knighthood and he died in 1409, not 1420. It is possible that the lost text may have related to his widow, Felicity, who had married Sir John Lumley. Her date of death is not known.

sheriff with his wife Joan, Thomas Ostrich, haberdasher (d. 1483) and Anne his wife, the mercer John Thomas (d. 1485) with his wife Elizabeth, Thomas Lovett, an esquire of Northamptonshire (d. 1491), and Benedict Trotter, grocer (d. 1496) all began with 'Hic iacet'.³² The monument for Thomas Lovett, an esquire of Astwell (Northamptonshire), deserves special comment because in his will he directed that he was to be buried with his wife (whom he did not name) in Biddlesden Abbey (Northamptonshire) but only if he died within a twenty miles of the abbey.³³ Should he die outside of this radius, then he was to be buried at the discretion of his executor, his wife Joan. He evidently died in London and his widow decided to bury him in St Alban Wood Street. She also chose to set up a memorial brass over his grave. This is notable example of a widow using her authority to bury her dead husband somewhere else and also ensuring that he was properly commemorated. Lovett, like London testators, did not provide any direction about his tomb and this was apparently left at the discretion of his widow. Joan was not, curiously, included on his memorial even as an adjunct where her date of death could be added later on. We do not know what became of Joan who may have been buried with another husband.

It is, however, Londoners as parishioners of St Alban Wood Street, who had the highest number of monuments in this particular church and where seventeen tombs were recorded: seven were recorded for mercers, namely, William Linchlade (d. 1392) and his wife Alice, John Woodcock (d. 1408), John Trusbut (d. 1439),

³² Weever (1631), 393 (Weever); Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 77 (Trotter) and 79 (Ostrich, Thomas and Lovett).

³³ TNA: PROB, PROB 11/9 ff. 80v-81r.

John Penne (d. 1450), Sir Thomas Chalton (d. before 1467) with his wife dame Alice Illingworth (d. 1467), John Thomas (d. 1485) and his wife Elizabeth and Christopher Hawe (d. 1508) and his wife Alice.³⁴ The tomb of John Trusbut is noteworthy because in his will be directed that he was to be buried in the hospital of St Thomas of Acre where he was to be commemorated with a marble stone.³⁵ This tomb was later record by Stow.³⁶ Trusbut may have enjoyed two memorials, one in his parish church, and a second over his grave in St Thomas'.³⁷

Fifteen wills have been identified for St Alban Wood Street where the testator was commemorated by a funerary monument. John Trusbut was one of only two testators (12%) of St Alban Wood Street to refer to a memorial in his will. The second example was dame Alice Illingworth, wife of Sir Richard Illingworth (d. 1476), and who had been permitted to make her own will during Sir Richard's lifetime. Dame Alice was widow of Sir Thomas Chalton and it is in her will that we learn of the nature of their joint memorial.³⁸ She directed that she was to be buried with, Sir Thomas, in the Chapel of St Thomas the Martyr in St Alban Wood Street where her husband was buried. She further directed:

I wyll that a plate of laton graven with the dayes and yeres of the
tyme of the decesse as well of my said late husbände as of one

³⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 297 (Penne); Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 77 (Linchlade), 78 (Woodcock) and 79 (Trusbut, Chalton, Thomas and Hawe). For parishes where the mercers lived, see A.F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578* (Aldershot, 2005), 194 and 197.

³⁵ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 210r-212v.

³⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 269.

³⁷ Another mercer, Henry Frowyk (d. 1460) also seems to have adopted this practice, see Chapter 8.

³⁸ LMA, MS 9171/6 f.10r.

be ordeyned and sette in the Tombe of marbell of my seyde late
husbande in the chapel aforseyde.

Dame Alice had evidently already arranged the memorial for her former husband but chose to use her testament to complete the construction by recording the details of their inscription. Her surviving husband, Sir Richard Illingworth, also asked to be buried in the Chapel of St Thomas the Martyr but he seems to have had his own tomb.³⁹ Nevertheless as her sole executor, the responsibility for completing Alice's will fell to Sir Richard who was also required to arrange the decoration of the chapel with the Chalton arms.

Mercer monuments were a distinctive feature of St Alban Wood Street. They seem to have been mostly incised slabs or brasses and in some cases, such as that of John Woodcock, of some magnificence. It is striking how at least one parishioner enjoyed multiple memorials and it is likewise striking how widows in the parish took such steps to complete a suitable tomb for their dead husbands.

St Lawrence Jewry

The various accounts note that there were thirty-three monuments recorded from St Lawrence Jewry. The earliest tomb was noted for the draper, Simon Benington (d. 1368) and his wife Joan who were buried in the Chapel of St John.⁴⁰ Strype copied down the inscription from this memorial, which he noted was in the south

³⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 296.

⁴⁰ Ibid, i, p. 276.

wall.⁴¹ The text began with the usual 'Hic iacet'. This inscription is striking because it refers to Benington as one of the benefactors of the Chapel of St John who endowed the chaplain who celebrated mass there daily:

Hic jacet Simon Bennington, Civis & Pannarius London,
Sustentatorum istius Capellae, ac unius Capellani, in eadem
divinia quotidie celebrantis. Cujus animae propitietur Deus⁴²

(Here lieth Simon Bennington, Citizen and Draper of London,
one of the supporters of this Chapel and of one Chaplain to
celebrate divine worship there every day; on whose soul may
God have mercy)

Bennington's chantry remained in place until 1548.⁴³

The parish of St Lawrence Jewry in the Mercery accounts for the number of monuments recorded, eleven in each half of the century, and all but one for mercers: the exception was Walter Chertsey, former sheriff and a draper by craft (d. 1443).⁴⁴ Those mercers buried at St Lawrence Jewry, like those in St Alban Wood Street, spent their money on memorials for themselves and for their families. We know of mercer tombs for John Otley (d. 1404), William Barton (d. 1410), John Middleton (d. 1417), Thomas Cressy (d. 1423), Simon Bartlett (d. 1428), Thomas Allen (d. 1438), John Abbot (d. 1443), William Melrith (d. 1445), Richard Rich (d. before 1464), Geoffrey Boleyn (d. 1463), Richard Rich (d. 1464), John Norlong (d. 1465) Geoffrey Fielding (d. 1471) and his wife Angel with their sons Thomas,

⁴¹ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 44 and 45.

⁴² Ibid, i, book 3, 45.

⁴³ Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate*, 27.

⁴⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 275.

Richard and John, Thomas Boleyn (d. 1471), son of Geoffrey, Philip Agmondesham (d. 1490), John Marshall (d. 1493) with his wife Joan (d. 1484), Roger Bonyfaunt (d. 1494), John Pickering (d. 1497) and his wife Elizabeth, and William Purchase (d. 1503).⁴⁵ In spite of listing so many, the Otley (1404) and Middleton (1417) tombs were not recorded in the antiquarian accounts. It is likely that other, earlier monuments, from this city church were also omitted almost certainly because they were lost through wear and tear or construction work.

The mercers were wealthy and of the twenty-two monuments recorded from the fifteenth century, we have surviving wills for sixteen mercers and the will of the draper, Chertsey. The popularity of burial in the Chapel of St John, where the draper Simon Benington had been buried in 1368, is further shown by the number of mercers who also asked to be buried in this chapel: John Otley, Thomas Allen, Geoffrey Boleyn and Thomas Boleyn were all interred here.⁴⁶ Geoffrey Fielding asked to be interred in the tomb he had already arranged at the north end of the altar of St John.⁴⁷ This was probably in the chapel of the same dedication and so he too was probably buried in this popular chapel. William Melrith and Richard Rich, on the other hand, asked to be buried near to where they used to sit: Melrith

⁴⁵ Ibid, i, 275 (Barton, Bartlett, Allen Melrith, Rich, Norlong and Admondesham), 275-276 (Rich), 276 (Abbot, Boleyn, Fielding, Boleyn, Marshall, Bonyfant, Pickering and Purchase); Weever (1631), 310 (Cressy). The tomb for Otley was not recorded in any of the written accounts but we know of its existence because in the will of Thomas Allen (d. 1438) he asked to be buried near to the Otley tomb, LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 508r. We know of John Middleton's tomb because in his will of 1417 he asked to be buried under the marble stone over his wife, Joan, LMA, MS 9171/2 ff. 376r-377r. Middleton's nephew, Thomas, another mercer, directed burial under his uncle's stone in his own will of 1436, LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/164..

⁴⁶ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/2A ff. 57r-58r (Otley), LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 508r (Allen), TNA: PRO, PROB 11/5 ff. 3v-6r (Geoffrey Boleyn) and TNA: PRO, PROB 11/6 f. 13r (Thomas Boleyn).

⁴⁷ LMA, MS 9171/6 ff. 70r-71v.

mentioned that this was in the choir and Rich in the Lady Chapel.⁴⁸ And yet while these mercers were particular about where they were to be buried, only four testators (25%) referred to their own tomb, namely John Middleton, Thomas Cressy, Geoffrey Fielding and John Marshall, all of whom mentioned a pre-existing monument already in place.⁴⁹

Stype recorded some of the inscriptions in his edition of the *Survey* which suggests that several monuments from St Lawrence Jewry were, like Benington's, flat and either brass or incised. Both the Boleyn's, for instance, have versions of the 'Hic iacet' opening clause familiar on many monumental brasses.⁵⁰ In the case of Geoffrey Boleyn, this was also described as 'a gravestone on the ground, well plated'. Brasses were relatively affordable for wealthy mercers such as the Boleyns, but this family already had a tradition of using such memorials as shown by the brasses at St Andrew, Blickling (Norfolk), for other members of the Boleyn family.⁵¹ We also learn from Stype that the Fielding monument contained 'a gravestone placed before the tomb'.⁵² This suggests that the tomb Fielding had commissioned also contained a separate inscription set on the ground before it. A 'Hic iacet' inscription was also noted for John and Joan Marshall in the north side of the choir. These are the only clear occurrences of such memorials from this

⁴⁸ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 254r-255v (Melrith) and TNA:PRO, PROB 11/5 ff. 32v-34v.

⁴⁹ LMA, MS 9171/2 ff. 376r-377r (John Middleton); TNA:PRO, PROB 11/3 f. 9v. (Cressy), LMA, MS 9171/6 ff. 70r-71v. (Fielding) and TNA:PRO, PROB 11/11 ff. 224r-225r. (Marshall).

⁵⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 45.

⁵¹ M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1964 edition), 323-324.

⁵² Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 46.

church but there were probably many others.⁵³ It is possible that Richard Rich was commemorated by a brass. We know that his son-in-law, and executor, Sir Thomas Urswick (d. 1479) was himself commemorated by a brass in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, Dagenham (Essex).⁵⁴ Urswick, as Rich's executor, may have commissioned a similar brass for his father-in-law.

It is striking that a group as wealthy as the mercers of St Lawrence Jewry did not go to any particular lengths in their wills to ensure their tomb commemoration. Only four testators mentioned their monument: the others seem to have relied on verbal instructions given to their executors, or on other documents, such as a contract, which their executors were to administer. This trust was well placed because St Lawrence Jewry was rich in monuments for the wealthy mercers of the parish.

St Michael Cornhill

The parish of St Michael Cornhill underwent rebuilding activity during the 1420s when a new tower was constructed.⁵⁵ This may explain why there are no fourteenth century tombs recorded in the antiquarian accounts. Or they may simply have been too worn to record. Nevertheless, thirty two monuments have been noted from this London church. There were seven tombs recorded from the first

⁵³ Ibid, i, book 3, 46.

⁵⁴ W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, 2 vols (London, 2003) i, 207-08.

⁵⁵ Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches', 76.

half of the fifteenth century but only four from the second half of the century. Most of the tombs recorded from this city church were dated between 1500 and 1540 when sixteen have been noted. St Michael Cornhill was where John Stow was himself born and where his grandfather, Thomas, was buried in 1526 and also his father, another Thomas, in 1559.⁵⁶ Stow perhaps had good reasons for making a full account of his family parish although the evidence from Strype shows that even so, Stow also omitted many other tombs.

There were twenty-three tombs for Londoners recorded from St Michael Cornhill and of these, twelve were for drapers, or their wives, and others involved in cloth production. From the drapers company were, John Clavering (d. 1401), John Boys (d. 1430), Robert Drope (d. 1487), who also served the city as mayor and alderman with his wife Jane, viscountess Lisle (d. 1500), Margaret (d. 1487) the widow of Thomas Nutson, Thomas Rathbone (d. 1499) and his wife Edith, Robert Fabyan (d. 1511), John Maidenhead (d. 1524) and his wife Denys, William Dickson (d. 1525) and his wife Margaret, Edmund Trindle (d. 1527) and Sir John Rudstone (d. 1531), former mayor, alderman and sheriff.⁵⁷ There were also two cloth workers, John Launder (d. 1529), with his wife Agnes, and Robert Smith (d. 1540).⁵⁸ There were also monuments recorded for those of other crafts such as Alice (d. 1420), widow of the brazier John Langhorn (d. 1405), the pewterers John Grace (d. 1439) with his wife Joan, John Goodall (d. 1464) with his wife Agnes,

⁵⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 197-198.

⁵⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol. 1 book 2, 145 (Clavering, Boys, Nutson, Rathband and Maidenhead); Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 196-19 (Drope), i, 197 (Fabyan, Dickson and Trindle) and i, 198 (Rudstone).

⁵⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 145 (Launder) and Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 199 (Smith).

and the skimmers, Thomas Clarke (d. 1513) and Richard Garnam (d. 1526).⁵⁹ But it was those from the drapery and other associated trades which constituted the largest number of tombs recorded in this particular church.

The wealth of St Michael Cornhill is reflected in the proportionately large number of wills of Londoners buried here. Of the twenty-three Londoners and their wives commemorated either in the church or in the graveyard eighteen have surviving wills. It was usual for testators to say whereabouts in the church they wanted to be buried and we find John Clavering (d. 1401) directing his burial outside near the door in the northern part of the cemetery next to the body of his wife, Joan.⁶⁰ Others, such as John Boys (d. 1430) asked to be buried in the body (the nave) of the church.⁶¹ Yet neither made any reference to their tomb. Only five of the eighteen wills referred to a monument already in place or provided instructions concerning one. Alice Langhorn (d. 1420) directed that she should be buried under the 'marble stone' of her husband John in the church.⁶² Her description of a marble stone suggests that it contained a memorial brass. More extensive were the instructions left by Robert Drope which are worth examining in more detail.

In 1485, Robert Drope, a draper by craft but also a former mayor and sheriff of the city of London, requested that:

⁵⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 144 (Langhorn) and 145 (Goodall); Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 196 (Grace) and 197 (Clarke and Garnam).

⁶⁰ LMA, MS 9171/2 ff. 11r-11v.

⁶¹ LMA, MS 9171/3 ff. 258v-259r.

⁶² LMA, MS 9171/3 ff. 75r-76r.

My body to be buried in my burying place by me ordeyned and made under the sepulcher of our blessed lord on the North syde of the Quire of the parych church of Seynt Michell in Cornehill of London where I am a parissner.⁶³

We know that Drope was in fact buried in this place because his widow, Jane, viscountess Lisle (d. 1500), requested that she should be buried 'under the sepulcre of our lord ther in the tombe wher the body of Robert Drope late my husband lyeth buried'.⁶⁴ Drope seems to have arranged his grave prior to his death and perhaps he had also arranged his tomb monument at the same time. The reference to the 'sepulchre of our blessed lord' made by Drope and by his widow, suggests that an Easter Sepulchre in St Michael Cornhill formed their tomb monument. None of the written sources described this tomb nor do they record an inscription because, according to Stow, it had been destroyed by 1598:

The saide Robert Drope and Lady Lisle (notwithstanding their liberality to that Church and Parrish) their Tombe is pulled downe, no monument remayneth of them.⁶⁵

An Easter Sepulchre was more vulnerable to loss because of its association with the Catholic liturgy and it is perhaps not surprising that this was lost during the sixteenth century Reformation.

The draper and chronicler, Robert Fabyan, also made very extensive arrangements in his will for his burial and commemoration which were to be

⁶³ TNA PROB 11/8 ff. 31v-33r.

⁶⁴ TNA PROB 11/12 ff. 71v-74v.

⁶⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 197.

different depending on where he was buried.⁶⁶ If he died in London then he was to have a wall monument made of freestone, probably similar to the one which has survived for the merchant taylor Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500) and his wife Katherine (d. 1507) now at St Martin Outwich.⁶⁷ This was to be made within three years and to cost 54s 4d, at most. It was to contain effigies, made of 'laton' showing Fabyan and his wife with their children, ten boys and six girls, and above the figures was to be an image of the 'Father in Heaven'. This tomb was likewise to have a mouth scroll for Fabyan reaching towards the image of God with 'O Pater in celis' and from Elizabeth 'Nos tecum pascere velis' At the feet of the Fabyan effigies there were to be nine English verses, written by Fabyan into his will, with yet another inscription running around the sides of the tomb. It was to be a tomb of some magnificence. Yet if he died at his country estate, at Theydon Garnon (Essex), then he was to be commemorated by a 'marble stone' over his grave, and not a wall monument. This was to be made within one year, with a marginal inscription (the text of which Fabyan also recorded in his will) and the upper part of the memorial was to contain an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of Christ. There were to be figures of Fabyan and his wife, Elizabeth, and of their children and Fabyan and his wife were to be holding scrolls with further text, which Fabyan recorded in his will. Finally this tomb was to contain Fabyan's arms alongside those of London and the Drapers with his merchant mark. It was to be an impressive brass memorial for a wealthy Londoner in a rural church.

⁶⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/17 ff. 90v-93r. Fabyan's attitude towards remembrance, including his tomb, is discussed in M.T.W. Payne, 'Robert Fabyan's Civic Identity', in H. Kleineke and C. Steer, eds, *The Yorkist Age* (Donington, 2013), 275-286.

⁶⁷ Chapter 1.

Fabyan's tomb was recorded by Stow in St Michael Cornhill.⁶⁸ Stow also unusually recorded the inscription. It is likely that Stow had a particular interest with Fabyan, a writer and chronicler of London's history and whose work would have been familiar to Stow. Fabyan's widow, now Elizabeth Smith (d. 1540) asked, in her own will, to be buried with her first husband, Robert Fabyan, in Theydon Garnon, 'then my body to be buryed in the parish church of Theydon Garnon in the same county nigh the place where the body of Robert Fabyan sometime my husband lyeth buried'.⁶⁹ This shows either that Stow recorded a cenotaph for Robert Fabyan or that he recorded a tomb in St Michael Cornhill, based simply on Fabyan's testamentary instruction and not from an inspection of the monument, which may not, in fact, have been there. This seems the more likely explanation and that the Fabyan tomb was not, in fact, in this London church.⁷⁰ There is no sign of the brass from Essex but this is not surprising as the church at Theydon Garnon has been through several restorations and there is little by way of medieval memorial brasses left.⁷¹

Fabyan's testamentary instructions are exceptionally detailed: the form of the tomb, its composition and inscriptions being very distinctive. And there seem to have been other impressive memorials in this city church. In 1525, another draper, William Dickson referred to the tomb of William Bradshaw, shearman (d. 1514),

⁶⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 197.

⁶⁹ LMA, MS 9071/11, f. 52v.

⁷⁰ Tracey Hill has reminded us that Stow's friendship with William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, enabled him to gain access to the Guildhall records, T. Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: theatre, history and power in early modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester, 2004), 184 note 24. The Fabyan case suggests that Stow also relied on wills for evidence of tombs as well as heraldic manuscripts and personal visits to churches.

⁷¹ Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex* ii, 695-698.

when he wrote that he was to be buried 'on the south parte of the church betwene the Tombe late of William Bradshaa and the wall of the said church'.⁷² This is the only known reference to the tomb of Bradshaw and it was omitted by the heralds and antiquarian sources. In his own will, Bradshaw directed that he was to be buried in the south end of St Michael Cornhill. He made provision for two chantries and an anniversary but otherwise he made no other provision for commemoration, such as a funerary monument. This was evidently already in place by 1514 or commissioned by his executors, who included his widow Joan.⁷³ Dickson, on the other hand, instructed his executors, his widow Margery, his son Simon and Robert Smith, described as a shearman and evidently the same man as was buried in this church in 1540, to 'make there a tombe over my grave like unto the tomb of the said Bradshaa for a memorial to have my soule praid for'. Dickson was evidently impressed by Bradshaw's tomb monument and wanted one like it. From the descriptions given in Dickson's will, Bradshaw's memorial was probably flat; although it might have been a free standing tomb chest, this is unlikely because it would have been in the way and would have obscured Dickson's intended tomb monument. It would also have been impractical to have two tomb chests adjacent to each other in the south aisle of the church. It is more likely that both these men were also commemorated by monumental brasses. Dickson also made a bequest of 20 shillings to St Michael's 'if the parishioners there will suffer my said tombe to be made and sett in maner fourme as is aforesaid'. It is unclear whether 'parishioners' meant everyone in the parish or just the churchwardens. But it is

⁷² TNA: PRO, PROB 11/21 f. 285r-286r.

⁷³ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/18 ff. 35v-36r.

evident that at St Michael Cornhill a fee was required in order to have a particular tomb monument and this may also explain why there are apparently fewer tomb monuments in this church from the fifteenth century. Dickson's widow, Margery (d. 1534) wanted to be buried in the south side of St Michael Cornhill and as near to the body of her husband, William, as 'conviently maye be', so Dickson had evidently got what he wanted.⁷⁴

The will of Sir John Rudstone, a draper and former mayor (d. 1531) contains a reference to his 'vault' under the cross and pulpit in the church cemetery. In this instance, the tomb – outside the church - was the pulpit but there is little else by way of direction on an inscription although he evidently had one because it was recorded by Stow.⁷⁵ But in the case of Sir John, there is an inventory and set of executors' accounts concerning the execution of his will.⁷⁶ These accounts record that £30 was to be spent on his tomb. This suggests that it was of some magnificence: if the memorial was to be placed near to his burial vault in the cemetery it is possible that this was to be a free standing chest tomb in the churchyard, although this seems a very large sum to be put aside for such a monument. Perhaps the cross or the pulpit was to be repaired with this bequest.

In the 1720 edition of Strype's *Survey* there are six inscriptions which begin with the formulaic 'Hic iacet' or 'Here lyeth' text, John Boys, John and Joan Grace,

⁷⁴ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/25 ff. 150v-151v.

⁷⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i,198.

⁷⁶ BL, Harley 1231, ff. 44v-45v. I am grateful to Stephanie Hovland for her comments on the Rudstone accounts.

John and Agnes Goodall, Margaret Nutson, Maudlin Lodge (died early in the sixteenth century) and the wife of John Bootes (d. 1507).⁷⁷ There are also three others, for Thomas Rathbone (d. 1499) and his wife Edith, Thomas Clarke (d. 1513) and John Launder (d. 1529) with his wife Agnes, where Strype has dropped the 'Hic iacet' opening but from the text these also seem to have been copied from brasses.⁷⁸ There was only one 'Prayer for the soul' brass inscription which was for John Maidenhead (d. 1524) and his wife, Denys.⁷⁹ Brasses at St Michael Cornhill seem to be just as popular as they were elsewhere in medieval London. The parishioners were also adopting newer, innovative designs for their tombs, such as those of Robert Drope and Robert Fabyan and which reflected their wealth.

All Hallows Barking

This discussion has so far focused on city churches which were destroyed by the Great Fire. All Hallows Barking is an exception because it survived the 1666 destruction and where thirty one tombs were recorded: three monuments from the fourteenth century, three more dated to the first half of the fifteenth century and with substantially more tombs in the later fifteenth century when eight were recorded. A further eight were noted between 1500 and 1540. There are nine recorded tombs which are undated although it is likely that these are from the fourteenth and early fifteenth century and that the dates of death from these

⁷⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 145.

⁷⁸ Ibid, i, book 2, 145.

⁷⁹ Ibid, i, book 2, 145.

memorials became worn by the time the written accounts were made. These nine are now lost.

There were at least fourteen tombs recorded for Londoners in this church and the earliest, for the vintner and former M.P., William Tong (d. 1389) has survived. This is a monumental brass showing Tong's arms with a French marginal inscription, set in a circle, surrounding the arms, **figure 4.1**. In his will, Tong asked to be buried in All Hallows Barking but he did not specify the exact location nor did he refer to this memorial. Tong did not endow a chantry or set up an annual obit but he did leave 10 marks to All Hallows Barking to buy a legenda for the use of the parishioners; he likewise left the same amount to the parish church of St Mary, Higham Ferrers (Northamptonshire), for prayers for the souls of his parents.⁸⁰

Tong was the only vintner whose tomb was recorded in All Hallows Barking and there does not seem to be any one craft which came to dominate burial and commemoration there: the church contained a mixed range of wealthy parishioners from different occupations. The woolman, John Bacon (d. 1437) was buried with his wife Joan in this church, where they are today commemorated with a brass. In his will he gave particular attention to his burial asking to be interred with his parents, Richard and Katherine, in the parish church of St Mary in Easton Neston (Northamptonshire) if he died there. Bacon also directed that a marble stone should be set over their joint grave containing an inscription with his name and the

⁸⁰ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/119. I am grateful to Graham Javes for discussion about this London vintner.

names of his parents, Richard and Katherine. Should Bacon die in London, then he was to be buried in All Hallows Barking.⁸¹ He did not leave any instructions about his London memorial perhaps because he had already discussed the arrangements or had not expected to die in the city. His brass at All Hallows Barking was evidently commissioned by his executors, his son in law John Poutrell and the scrivener, Richard Claidich and remains in the church to this day, **figure 4.2**.

The Bacon brass was a conventional figure brass showing both John and Joan at prayer and standing on a foot inscription. And yet other brasses from this church also show how wealthy parishioners, such as the skinner and former alderman John Croke (d. 1477) chose to commission newer, innovative tomb designs when arranging commemoration. A canopied altar tomb survives in All Hallows Barking showing John Croke and his wife Margaret (d. 1491) at prayer and with their twelve children shown as adjuncts, **figure 4.3**. This tomb is one of the earliest surviving monuments from a city church which shows a chest tomb with quatrefoils containing shields and with a canopied arch containing a frieze.⁸² This very distinctive tomb is similar to that of the merchant taylor, Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500) which is now in St Helen Bishopsgate, and shows the importance of distinctive tomb designs when rich Londoner merchants came to consider their commemorations. And yet in spite of his request for burial in All Hallows Barking, Croke did not provide any specific instruction on the exact place of burial or on the

⁸¹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 165v-166r.

⁸² B. Cherry, 'Some New Types of Late Medieval Tombs in the London Area', in L. Grant, ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London* (Leeds, 1990), 140-154, esp. 143-146.

nature of his tomb monument.⁸³ It was either already in place or Croke had earlier discussed his arrangements with his executors, his widow Margaret, his son in law, the draper Sir William Stokker, his neighbour Robert Tate, mercer, and William Essex, gentleman.⁸⁴

There is, however, a possibility that the impressive Croke tomb at All Hallows Barking is in fact a cenotaph. John Croke II (d. 1485), draper and son of John and Margaret, in his will asked to be buried in the London Black Friars near to the grave of his father, John Croke, whom he described as late alderman.⁸⁵ A tomb for John Croke II was recorded at the Black Friars in Strype's edition of the *Survey* when Croke was described as a gentleman.⁸⁶ But the heralds, whose account Strype copied, did not record a tomb for the elder Croke at this mendicant house. There are cases elsewhere in London of multiple commemorations and of tomb monuments not necessarily being in the same place as the body, as was the case of the mercer John Trusbut (discussed above). It is possible that John Croke I is another example of this practice and that the impressive tomb at All Hallows Barking was empty. Croke's widow, Margaret, directed that she also be buried in the London Black Friars before the image of 'Seint Sithe' where, presumably, her husband and son were also buried.

⁸³ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/6 ff. 249r-249v (will) and PROB 11/7 ff 26r-28r (testament).

⁸⁴ Croke is discussed further in, K. Lacey, 'Margaret Croke (d. 1491), in Barron and Sutton, *Medieval London Widows*, 143-164.

⁸⁵ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/7 f. 159v.

⁸⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 182.

Eight wills for Londoners buried and commemorated at All Hallows Barking have survived, namely those of William Tong, vintner and M.P. (d. 1389), Thomas Gilbert, draper (d. 1483) with his wife Agnes, John Rushe (d. 1498), grandson of John and Margaret Croke, Sir Robert Tate, mercer and former mayor of London (d. 1500), Sir John Rysley (d. 1512), the mercer Christopher Rawson (d. 1518) with his wives Margaret and Agnes, Sir John Stile (d. 1529) of East Greenwich (Kent), and Humphrey Monmouth, draper and former sheriff (d. 1537).⁸⁷ This shows that 33% of these testators referred to their memorial; John Bacon, as we have seen, left this to the discretion of his executors; Rysley asked to be buried in 'the place where I have provided my sepulchre'; Rawson also asked that his executors undertook the arrangements for his memorial although he specified that this was to include the images of his wives and children and also of the Holy Trinity; and Stile who directed that if he died in London, he was to be buried under the gravestone of his wives Katherine and Elizabeth who were buried in All Hallows Barking. Monmouth, a diehard Protestant, directed his burial in the churchyard at the discretion of his executors, his wife Margery and his father in law, William Denham. They also arranged to mark his grave with a monument.⁸⁸

A study of this parish shows how wealthy Londoners from different crafts chose to live and die in this particular parish. With a surviving set of memorials from the late fourteenth century into the sixteenth century, this also shows how

⁸⁷ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/119 (Tong), TNA: PRO PROB 11/7 ff. 159v-160r (Gilbert), TNA: PRO, PROB 11/11 ff. 174v-175r (Rushe), TNA: PRO, PROB 11/12 ff. 140v-142r (Tate), TNA: PRO, PROB 11/17 ff. 60v-61r (Rysley), TNA: PRO, PROB 11/19 ff. 101r-102r (Rawson), TNA: PRO, PROB 11/23 ff. 111r-111v (Stile) and TNA: PRO, PROB 11/27 ff. 98r-99v (Monmouth).

⁸⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 131. On Monmouth see, S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), 106-109.

tastes changed as the cost of commemoration was reduced and new designs became affordable. The Tong brass is straightforward and does not contain an effigy of the dead vintner: within forty years other parishioners – such as Bacon – could afford a larger brass composition for him and his wife although she, in fact, does not appear to have chosen burial with Bacon. By the end of the century new, groundbreaking designs were used, such as the Croke monument. And yet such a magnificent tomb was apparently empty and this London family was buried instead at the Black Friars. Monuments were not always grave markers.

St Leonard Eastcheap

St Leonard Eastcheap does not seem to have had any major rebuilding activity during the fifteenth century which may explain why two fourteenth century tombs were later recorded from this church. These were for Robert Burgener, fishmonger (d. 1361), and Walter Dogett, vintner and former sheriff (d. 1387-88).⁸⁹ And like burials and tombs from other city churches, a modest number of memorials were recorded throughout the fifteenth century which continued up until the Reformation. For St Leonard Eastcheap there were five between 1400 and 1449, seven during 1450 to 1499 and another five in the forty year period to 1540. Stow, however, only noted those of the Dogett family and it is John Strype in his edition of Stow's *Survey* in 1720 who provides a much fuller account of the funerary monuments from this church.

⁸⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 177 (Burgener) and Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 212 (Doggott).

There were three distinctive crafts which were represented in the church, the butchers, the vintners and the grocers. There were six memorials recorded for the butchers, namely John Buckstone and Cecilia, his wife (d. 1425), Thomas Sampson (d. 1422) and his wife Florence (d. 1433), John Johnson (d. 1481), John Harvey (d. 1485) and his wife Matilda, John Woolstone (d. 1510) and his wives Rose and Katherine, and John Cooper (d. 1533) with Alice, his wife.⁹⁰ Eastcheap was the butchers' eastern market and it is not surprising that wealthy butchers were commemorated in this particular London church. For the other crafts, all but one monument for the vintners were for members of the Dogett family. They were content to stay in the parish over several generations and to use their parish church as their mausoleum. Memorials were recorded for Walter Dogett (d. 1387-88), his son John I (d. 1403) and at least four other members of his family, John II (d.c.1456) – probably son of John I - and Walter (d. 1480), who is likely to have been the son of John II. Tombs were also recorded for Thomas and William Dogett whose dates of death were not recorded.⁹¹ The other vintner monument recorded from St Leonard Eastcheap was for William Athow (d. 1484).⁹² The third craft which later became associated with St Leonard Eastcheap was the grocers, Thomas Hawkins and his two wives Joan and Margaret, Thomas Stevens with Elizabeth (d. 1510) and Elizabeth (d. 1523) and John Fish (d. 1493) with his wives Alice and

⁹⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1720) i, book 2, 176-177 (Johnson) and 177 (Buckstone, Sampson, Harvey, Woolstone and Cooper). Strype mis-recorded Johnson's date of death as 1280 but the text of the inscription suggests it is fifteenth century. The Hustings will for John Johnson (d. 1481), a butcher of St Leonard Eastcheap, is LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/211.

⁹¹ Stow's *Survey* (1720) i, book 2, 176-177.

⁹² *Ibid*, i, book 2, 177.

Christine.⁹³ Of these grocers only the will of John Fish has survived in which he asked to be buried in this church with the body of his wife, Alice.⁹⁴

One of the distinctive features of the memorials is that many of them were in fact glass inscriptions with accompanying arms in the windows. Donor figures were not recorded but it would be characteristic of the glass to contain such figures. Strype, it is to be remembered, had access to a manuscript which had been in the possession of Sir Henry St George, Garter King of Arms (1625-1715), and which Strype copied.⁹⁵ It is clear from Strype's account that several of the memorials recorded in St Leonard Eastcheap were taken from glass in the windows. The memorial for Thomas Sampson, for example, and his wife Florence was noted under a list of inscriptions taken from 'on the south window of the quire'.⁹⁶ But Strype's text is often confused and he does not make a clear distinction between inscriptions which were taken from tombs and those from glass. Nevertheless, this account for St Leonard Eastcheap shows that glass may have played a significant role in memorialization for Londoners but this has not been apparent from the other accounts.

Although several wealthy parishioners took the opportunity to commemorate themselves in this city church, yet only eight wills have survived. Thomas Sampson (d. 1422) directed that he should be buried in St Leonard Eastcheap but without

⁹³ Ibid, i, book 2, 177. Strype mis-recorded Fish's date of death which was in fact, 1493, TNA: PRO, PROB 11/17 ff. 28v-29r.

⁹⁴ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/17 ff. 28v-29r.

⁹⁵ Chapter 2.

⁹⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, p. 177.

specifying the nature of his monument.⁹⁷ It is the will of his widow Florence (d. 1433) which says that he was buried under a marble stone where she herself wished to be interred.⁹⁸ The ironmonger, John Gyvar (d.1511) was very specific when he specified his burial:

My body to be buried in the parisshe church of Seynt Leonard in Estchepe of London by ye grave where the body of Thomas Gyvar lyeth buried that is to say next unto the churchyarde dore on the north side under the chamber called the morow masse priest chamber.⁹⁹

Gyvar did not record his memorial but in choosing burial next to his kinsman he ensured he was interred in a prominent access route into and out of the church. The cooper, John Cooper (d. 1531) requested burial in the churchyard although he added that this could take place in the church: he was not particular where exactly he was buried as long as it took place at St Leonard Eastcheap where he was a parishioner.¹⁰⁰

There are only two out of seven testators (28%) from St Leonard Eastcheap who actually referred to the tomb in their wills: the vintner and former sheriff Walter Dogett, and Florence, widow of Thomas Sampson.¹⁰¹ In his will Walter requested tapers to burn around his tomb on the day of his burial which suggests that he had already commissioned the memorial before making his will in 1375.¹⁰² Walter also

⁹⁷ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/2B ff. 199v-200v.

⁹⁸ LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 322v.

⁹⁹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/17 ff. 28v-29r.

¹⁰⁰ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/24 f. 76r.

¹⁰¹ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/116 (Doggott) and LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 322v (Sampson).

¹⁰² LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/116.

made very detailed provision for two short term chantries one at the Priory of Haliwell (Middlesex) and the other at St Leonard Eastcheap. That at Haliwell was for his parents Thomas and Letitia and John Dogett (probably Walter's grandfather). He also included John and Christina de Croydon: it is possible that these were kinsmen (perhaps the children) of John de Croydon, fishmonger, who died in 1334.¹⁰³ This seems to have been in fulfillment of a request by Walter's father, Thomas. The second chantry in St Leonard Eastcheap was to serve members of Walter's immediate family, himself and his wife Alice; their children, Thomas, Thomas, Lucy, Robert and John; his grandparents John and Agnes and 'others'.

Walter Dogett was aware of the importance of commemorations for himself and for his family. This seems to have been part of a broader, strategy to which other family members contributed. The Dogett family was unusual in that they remained members of this city parish for over two hundred years and developed, what might be considered, a parish dynasty, which in each generation added a new layer to a commemorative superstructure. The apparent founder of this dynasty was John Dogett (d. 1282) who owned property in St Leonard Eastcheap and so began the family association with this parish. His son, Thomas, a vintner (d. 1351-2) requested burial in the Lady Chapel of this parish church.¹⁰⁴ Strype recorded a glass inscription for Thomas and his wife Letitia (who had died before 1351) which read 'Thomas Dogett and Letitia sa feme. Dieu de lour Almes eit

¹⁰³ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/063.

¹⁰⁴ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/080.

mercy'.¹⁰⁵ In his will Thomas also requested masses for his parents, John and Agnes. By the end of the fourteenth century there was at least one chantry for the Dogett family at St Leonard Eastcheap, a window memorial (which may have contained donor figures) for Thomas and Letitia and a tomb monument for Walter. No evidence has been found which suggests that the glass or tomb monuments played a role during the intercessory services but it would be unlikely that these commemorations were ignored, particularly as Walter had specifically asked for candles to burn around his tomb on the day of his funeral. It is possible that the different types of commemoration for the Dogett family were used during the various intercessory services with prayers also said at Walter's tomb.¹⁰⁶

Walter's son, John, continued the dynastic links between the Dogett family and St Leonard's Eastcheap. In his will of 1403 he requested burial in the chancel: at the time of his death the family was evidently considered among the worthies of the parish and they were thus able to secure burial in the most prestigious place in the church. Strype copied a description of his arms and an inscription from the glass at St Leonard Eastcheap. And like his father, Walter, and grandfather, Thomas, John also endowed another anniversary obit for himself, and his family, although this was a perpetual foundation and was still in place at St Leonard Eastcheap in 1548 when £10 was recorded as the yearly income from lands and

¹⁰⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 177.

¹⁰⁶ This may have occurred elsewhere in the case of other urban dynasties, see for example S. Badham, 'Commemoration in brass and glass of the Blackburn family of York', *Ecclesiology Today*, 43 (2010), 68-82.

tenements to support a priest.¹⁰⁷ A second John (d. about 1456) was also commemorated in the Dogett mausoleum. John II was probably the posthumous son of the elder John who had died in 1403 when his wife was pregnant. John II was commemorated by an inscription in St Leonard Eastcheap where his arms were also displayed.¹⁰⁸ His will has not survived and we do not know what his specific commemorative intentions were although he evidently wished to join the memorials of his ancestors with one for himself. It is unfortunate that John's will has not survived because he was probably the father of Walter, the fifth generation of the Dogett family and another vintner, who came to be commemorated in this church in 1480. Strype also recorded an inscription for this Walter and his wife Alice.¹⁰⁹ They enjoyed the standard 'Hic iacet' inscription common on many brass monuments. Neither Walter nor Alice left a will and we do not know what they intended for their other commemorations. They were the last generation of Dogetts to enjoy commemoration in St Leonard Eastcheap.

The rare survival of the medieval stained glass in the church of St Leonard Eastcheap into the seventeenth century and its recording by Strype, enables us to observe how a London merchant family used a parish church over two centuries to serve their commemorative needs: glass windows, inscribed tombs and endowed chantries all kept the Dogett family together in life and death.

¹⁰⁷ Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate*, 20.

¹⁰⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 177.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, i, book 2, p. 177.

St Nicholas Shambles

The parish church of St Nicholas Shambles was closed in 1547 and shortly afterwards the church was destroyed. The heralds do not seem to have visited this church or, if they did, they did not find any tombs worthy of note. By the time Stow was writing, there was nothing for him to record. But a set of churchwardens' accounts survives for 1452 to 1548 which, when compared with the surviving wills from this particular parish, offer some patterns on burial and commemoration within this city church.

The churchwardens' accounts record 115 burials. The location for sixty two of these interments was not given but the wills of some of their parishioners indicate the whereabouts of their graves. For example, the brewer William Michell (d. 1468) and the chantry priest, Christopher Rede (d. 1542) both asked to be buried in the Lady Chapel.¹¹⁰ We also learn that the haberdasher, Henry Hunt (d. 1518), whose grave location was not recorded by the churchwardens, was to be buried in the churchyard in a place called 'the Parson's Parlour'.¹¹¹ This was also known as the 'parsonage'. Burial in this particular location in the cemetery was the most popular place for interment: twenty one parishioners are known to have been buried there between 1452 and 1548. The churchwardens' referred to these burials as either 'in' or 'under' the parsonage: in 1452-53, for example, two unnamed daughters of John Harpenden alias Leche (d. 1471), a poulterer, were buried

¹¹⁰ SBHA, SNC/1 f. 70v and LMA, MS 9171/6 f. 15v (Michell) and SBHA, HA1/1 f. 91r and TNA:PRO, PROB 11/29 f. 103r (Rede).

¹¹¹ SBHA, SNC/1 f. 246v and LMA, MS 9171/9 f. 104r-104v.

here.¹¹² A year later another of his children was buried in this place followed in 1461-62 for yet another grave, so at least four of Harpenden's children were buried 'under the parsonage'.¹¹³ Harpenden and his wife Alice were buried in the Lady Chapel of St Nicholas Shambles where their surviving son, John, also a poulterer (d.1493) requested burial with his parents.¹¹⁴

We see from the churchwardens' accounts and wills that churchyard burial was the most popular place of interment for the parishioners of St Nicholas Shambles. The wills note seven testators who directed burial in other parts of the cemetery. From these, we learn of the cross in the graveyard: in 1478 the barber, John Dauntt, directed his burial by the right hand of the cross and next to his first wife, Joan.¹¹⁵ Fifty years later, Andrew Chesham, a merchant taylor, likewise asked to be buried near to the cross.¹¹⁶ And yet very few of these testamentary instructions mention a tomb or a gravestone. A notable exception was the butcher, Thomas Alderton, who died in 1510 and asked to be buried near to the churchyard cross. He also directed that:

And I will have A tombe to be made over my grave with thee ymage oone of me and oone of either of my twoo wives in latton wt xvi children and an Epitaff to be graven in latton to be made and leyd upon the same stone after suche forme as shalbe advysed by myne executors and their counsall¹¹⁷

¹¹² SBHA, SNC/1 f.13v.

¹¹³ Ibid, f. 26v and 44v.

¹¹⁴ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/9 ff. 188v-189r.

¹¹⁵ LMA, MS 9171/6 f. 218v.

¹¹⁶ LMA, MS 9171/10 f. 318r.

¹¹⁷ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/16 ff. 236v-237r.

Alderton evidently wanted a marble stone with brasses of himself, one of his wives (it is curious he did not want both of them) and with his sixteen children. The memorial was also to have an inscription and was outside in the churchyard. The entire composition was left in the hands of his executors who were his widow, Joan, with Nicholas Pynchon and Thomas Scryven. The churchwardens did not receive the payment for Alderton's grave until 1523-28 when 6s 8d was paid by Walter Pynchon. This suggests that settlement of Alderton's estate may have been complicated by the death of Nicholas Pynchon.

Alderton also left instruction about his obit and, most unusually for London testators, recorded how this was to be performed at his memorial:

And every child of the same parishe aftir masse of Requiem at
the said Anniversary done goyng aboute my tombe and saying
the psalme of de profundis with the Colett according for my
soule and the soules abovesaid and all cristien soules shal have
ii d¹¹⁸

'Goyng aboute my tombe' shows that the memorial had a functional use and one which was similar to the tomb of William Cambridge, grocer (d. 1431), at St Mary at Hill where anniversary masses were held by the parish priests on Christmas day.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/16 ff.236v-237r.

¹¹⁹ H. Littlehales, ed., *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St Mary at Hill) A.D. 1420-1559* (2nd edition, Woodbridge, 2002), 16.

Burial and commemoration also took place inside St Nicholas Shambles. We learn, for example, that John Fawkenor (d. 1463), a butcher, asked to be buried in the tomb of his mother, Mabel.¹²⁰ His widow, Eleanor, paid 6s 8d for this.¹²¹ The records are silent about the exact siting of the tomb inside St Nicholas Shambles. Other members however of the Fawkenor family were also buried in this church including Richard Fawkenor, gentleman (d. 1463) who asked for his burial in the Lady Chapel with the body of his first wife Julian, 'under the marble stone and by me ordained'.¹²² A payment of 6s 8d for his burial was received from his executors, master John Greeburgh, chaplain and John Botiller, barber.¹²³ Fawkenor's widow, Elizabeth, is notable because in her will of 1464, she directed burial either in St Nicholas Shambles or in the Lady Chapel of St Peter's, Marlborough (Wiltshire). The churchwardens' did not record a payment for her burial so in this instance it seems that a London widow was buried elsewhere, probably where she had stipulated in Wiltshire. But other Fawkenors enjoyed burials inside the church where memorials for them were commissioned.

In the churchwardens' accounts there are many payments for the paving of graves. It is not clear whether these are gravestones, with a memorial for the deceased, or a slab to cover the hole in the ground. An example from the accounts of 1480-82 suggests that some of this paving may in fact have been tombstones:

¹²⁰ LMA, MS 9171/5 f. 320r.

¹²¹ SBHA, SNC/1 f. 56r.

¹²² TNA:PRO, PROB 11/5 ff. 18v-19r.

¹²³ SBHA, SNC/1 f. 70v.

Item paid to a labourer for paving of a grave of William Thame's wife in the church and of a grave in the parsonage and for 2 sacks of lime.¹²⁴

We do not know who Thame was but the burial in the parsonage was probably the child of John Harpenden alias Leche because this was the only burial in the parsonage in 1480-82. Harpenden buried his dead child with the bodies of his deceased brothers and sisters. This entry shows that particular sections of the cemetery were either paved – perhaps as a walkway – or contained flat gravestones. The accounts also suggest that paving used elsewhere consisted of smaller tiles: in 1496-97, for instance, 13s ½d was spent on 'paving tiles for the graves'.¹²⁵ It seems unlikely that these were memorials but are probably references for infill.

In the 1520s the churchwardens sold some 'old' or unwanted stones. In the accounts for 1523-28, 20s was received from John Hone, a tallow chandler in the parish (d. 1538) for two 'old stones' which were taken up in the church.¹²⁶ In the same set of accounts another stone, described as 'fair' was removed from the Lady Chapel and sold for 6s 8d.¹²⁷ And in 1528-31, another 'old stone' was sold to a marbler for 10s.¹²⁸ It is not clear if these were memorial stones but this shows that at St Nicholas Shambles funerary monuments may have been just as vulnerable here as in other city churches. By the early 1540s, the stones in the parsonage

¹²⁴ Ibid, SNC/1 f. 123r.

¹²⁵ Ibid, SNC/1 f.171v.

¹²⁶ Ibid, HA1/1, f. 5r.

¹²⁷ Ibid, HA1/1, f. 6r.

¹²⁸ Ibid, HA1/1, f.19r.

were under threat when a marbler paid 9s 8d 'for 3 marble stones which stood in the parsonage belonging to the church'.¹²⁹ It seems that these stones, almost certainly gravestones, were being cleared away.

The church records for St Nicholas Shambles suggest that the church was rich with memorials, inside and out, and with stone slabs and tiles used to cover certain graves. The popularity of burial under the parsonage is particularly striking and the implication of pre-Reformation loss of tombs is another notable characteristic. Wills show that some parishioners mentioned tombs in their wills but as with other city parishioners this was usually in reference to preexisting tombs over the grave of a parent or spouse. But commemoration of the dead could take many different forms: in 1452-53, 2d was paid for 'a little table board to write upon dead man's names to be prayed for in the pulpit that hangs above the pulpit'.¹³⁰ Such tables were common in city churches and helped to maintain the remembrance of dead parishioners in a very fluid society.

Conclusion

It has been possible to find records of over 1,000 tombs in London's parish churches between 1300 and 1540. There would have been more, and many were lost during rebuilding work. Tombs are conspicuous by their absence from those churches which had undergone rebuilding work in the fifteenth century. The study

¹²⁹ Ibid, HA1/1 f. 91r.

¹³⁰ Ibid, SNC/1, f. 22v.

of wills has also shown the vulnerability of memorials: the monuments for the mercers John Otley and Thomas Middleton, for example, are known to have been placed over their graves yet they were not recorded in the later accounts. Recycling of gravestones and brasses was much in evidence. At St George's in Botolph Lane an older brass from 1410 was reused elsewhere in 1544. Similar losses from St Nicholas Shambles also seem to have taken place from the 1520s when a number of stones were being sold off. Some of these stones were taken from known burial places in the Lady Chapel and in the parsonage which suggests that these were in fact gravestones.

We know that many of the later writers had their own reasons for recording certain tombs and not others.¹³¹ But by comparing the different lists of monuments we learn that Stow noted very few memorials in parishes such as St Leonard Eastcheap, where he was only interested in the Dogett family. Stow's selectiveness in his own parish of birth is also distinctive and it is Strype, whose composite list of burials provides a fuller account on those buried there. He relied on older accounts made by the heralds, from which we learn something about the memorial glass used to commemorate certain parishioners at St Leonard Eastcheap who were important donors and benefactors of the parish.

Because Strype copied down so many inscriptions, and occasionally described them, we learn that London churches were rich in brass memorials and epitaphs for the dead. The language of commemoration is a distinctive feature:

¹³¹ Chapter 2.

inscriptions in London city churches were largely French in the fourteenth century, Latin during the fifteenth century and – increasingly – the vernacular from the sixteenth century.¹³² And we also learn that many wealthy Londoners, such as mercers like John Woodcock could afford very impressive and bespoke commissions, with distinctive personal epitaphs. Wealthy London merchants came to adopt different styles of commemoration and this is seen at the end of the fifteenth century when men such as John Croke, Robert Drope and Robert Fabyan selected new fashions in funerary monuments. And yet neither Croke nor Fabyan was actually buried in these remarkable tombs. The practice of multiple commemorations in medieval London is also suggested by the case of John Trusbut. While we cannot be precise on the specific nature of many of these tombs, it is evident that brass, glass and elaborate canopied tomb chests were all used as a means of commemoration. The brief entry in the St Nicholas Shambles accounts also shows how wooden table boards were used as ‘community’ memorials for important benefactors. Many parishioners would have been on this table and enjoyed their own distinctive memorial elsewhere in the church or the cemetery.

This analysis has also shown how rarely London testators referred to their tombs in their wills. If they did, it was usually with reference to a pre-existing gravestone placed over the tomb of a dead spouse or, in one instance, of a dead mother. This was a better way of describing the exact place of preferred burial

¹³² For a new study on French epitaphs, see D. Griffith, ‘A Living Language of the Dead’: French Commemorative Inscriptions in Fifteenth-Century England’, *The Medieval Journal*, 3:2 (forthcoming).

rather than in relation to a particular image or light in the church. From time to time some testators recorded the form of their tombs – Robert Fabyan and Thomas Alderton are noted examples – but this was very unusual. John Bacon who asked for a tomb at the discretion of his executors demonstrates the importance placed on others for the commissioning of a memorial. The commemoration of the dead remained important within many families over successive generations: some families at St Nicholas Shambles were commemorated over two or three generations but others, such as the Dogetts at St Leonard Eastcheap, created a commemorative superstructure for themselves using different types of memorial and building on the preferences of earlier generations.

Chapter 5: St Paul's Cathedral

On 31 January 1493 John Hotersall, notary and stationer of London and a parishioner of St Nicholas Shambles, asked to be buried in the Pardon churchyard of St Paul's. This was to be on the north side of the grave of Walter Bedlow (d. after 1480) and his wife Joan.¹ Hotersall preferred to be buried near Bedlow in the Pardon cemetery of St Paul's rather than in his own parish. He further directed that:

there be ordained a marble stone of ii foot square or thereabout as it shall seem most expedient to my executors, the which stone I will that it be surely fixed and set in the stone wall at the head of my grave. In the which stone I will that there be graved in plate of latten fixed in the same stone the images signs and scriptures drawn and written in paper, involuid and lappid within this my present testament.²

In this instance, Hotersall explained the basic structure of his memorial in his will but otherwise left the commission to his executors, his widow Joan and his cousin John Hill. They were to follow a set of instructions attached to the will, although these instructions have not survived. This is a striking example of a Londoner who wished to be buried outside his parish church in the Cathedral Pardon churchyard and who laid down the broad details about his tomb in his will, but with reference to a more detailed set of instructions his executors were to follow in a further

¹ LMA, MS 9171/8 ff. 46v-47v. I am grateful to Jane Williams for alerting me to this will. Hotersell was himself the apprentice of Robert Legett and it is not known why he should be buried near the grave of Walter Bedlow; this may have been nothing more than a convenient marker to where Hotersell wished to be interred. For Hotersell see, F.W. Steer, ed., *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357-1628*, (London Record Society, 4 1968), 12 and 23.

² LMA, MS 9171/8 ff. 46v-47v. I am grateful to Pam Robinson for her help with this will.

document. The written records rarely recorded any extra-mural monuments from St Paul's and neither the Bedlow nor the Hotersall tombs were recorded. And yet from Hotersall's instructions we learn that he wanted to be commemorated with a tombstone, set onto the wall of the Pardon churchyard, and with brass images (probably of himself and his wife) and an inscription.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine cases similar to that of Hotersall and in particular to look at the range of burials and commemorations in St Paul's Cathedral and also in its cemeteries.³ There were three different places which could be used for burial at the Cathedral and these will be discussed. St Paul's suffered a substantial loss of funerary monuments during the Reformation and later during the Civil War. The remaining medieval tombs were completely destroyed by the 1666 fire.⁴ Yet many memorials were recorded and in some cases illustrated. The fortunate survival of a series of drawings showing a number of different tombs, brasses and inscriptions shows the use of certain types of memorial in the Cathedral for particular social groups. This popularity of certain tombs among particular social groups will be discussed and also the location of their monuments and especially whether particular places within, and without, the Cathedral were particularly popular.

³ I am grateful to Marie-Hélène Rousseau who generously shared her own material and observations on burial in St Paul's Cathedral with me.

⁴ See Chapter 3.

Burial at St Paul's Cathedral

There were three different places for burial at St Paul's Cathedral and the history of these locations affected the number of recorded monuments. Firstly, burial could take place inside the Cathedral where many monuments were seen and recorded by John Stow in *A Survey of London* (1598) and Sir William Dugdale in *A History of St Paul's Cathedral* (1658). However, by the time of Stow's account there had already been much loss and damage: the effigy and tomb chest for Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln (d. 1311), for example, had already become 'fowly defaced' by 1598.⁵ The destruction of tombs at St Paul's during the sixteenth century is also shown in *A History of St Paul's Cathedral* where Dugdale refers to the wills of a number of former bishops of London as evidence of their (lost) monuments.⁶ One noted example is the will of Richard Gravesend (d. 1303) who asked to be buried near to the tomb of his predecessor, Henry de Sandwich (d. 1273). Gravesend further directed that his own tomb was to be of marble and that it should not be higher than the surrounding pavement. We do not know the precise nature of this tomb but for it to be of marble and on the floor shows that it was either incised or a brass memorial. It was probably a brass because this was becoming the fashion for the upper clergy by the time of the early fourteenth century.⁷ An inventory for bishop Gravesend survived which Dugdale examined: this recorded a payment of £10 for a marble stone over the bishop's grave which was the typical cost for a

⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 333.

⁶ Dugdale (1658), 23-25.

⁷ N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 181-183.

monumental brass with an effigy of the deceased. We also learn through the will of the bishop's nephew, Stephen Gravesend, another bishop of London (d. 1338), that he asked to be buried near to his uncle's tomb in the Cathedral.⁸ These bishops of London chose to be buried near to one another.

Other bishops and members of the upper clergy were buried elsewhere inside the Cathedral. The chaplain, Geoffrey de Acra (d. 1264) was buried in St James' Chapel.⁹ This is the only recorded instance of burial in this particular chapel. There were more burials of the Cathedral clergy in the Lady Chapel where the canon, Reginald de Brandon (d. 1305) and bishops Ralph Baldock (d.1313) and Robert Braybrooke (d. 1404) were buried.¹⁰ We do not know the form of Brandon's memorial but we know that these bishops, like Richard Gravesend, were commemorated by brasses.¹¹ There were fewer burials recorded in the Lady Chapel although the locations of only a few graves are provided in the sources. The next interment in this chapel was of another bishop of London, John Stokesley (d. 1539).¹² The format of his tomb was not recorded but it was almost certainly another brass, continuing the line of such memorials enjoyed by his predecessors. Burial in other chapels was popular: Archdeacon Richard de Placeto of Colchester (d. 1342) was buried before the Chapel of St Thomas and we can be confident that he too probably had an incised slab or a brass: anything other than a flat memorial would have been an impractical monument and prevented entry to the chapel. In

⁸ Dugdale (1658), 24.

⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 333.

¹⁰ Ibid, i, 333 (Brandon and Baldock); Dugdale (1658), 57 (Braybrooke).

¹¹ Dugdale (1658), 32 (Baldock) and ibid, 57 (Braybrooke)

¹² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 337.

1400, Thomas de Eure, dean of St Paul's, was buried inside this chapel and from the Hollar drawing we learn that he too was commemorated by a monumental brass, **figure 5.1**. By the fifteenth century space in the chapels may have become restricted because in this period a greater number of tombs were noted from the choir; these memorials included, for example, the brasses for bishop Robert Fitz-hugh (d. 1436) and Thomas de Winterbourne, dean (d. 1478), and the canons John Newcourt (d. 1485), Richard Lichfield (d. 1496) and Roger Brabazon (d. 1498).¹³ The inside of old St Paul's Cathedral afforded a rich choice of burial locations.

St Paul's also had two cemeteries for extra-mural burial. The ordinary churchyard, to the north-east of the Cathedral, was used for the burial of the poor and for those from parishes where there was no graveyard. There is only one known monument surviving from this churchyard which was found in 1841, a Purbeck marble coffin slab, **figure 5.2**. This has been dated to c.1250-c.1325.¹⁴ This demonstrates the type of monument which could be used in the city's graveyards although there is unfortunately no surviving inscription on this coffin slab. We know from wills that testators asked to be buried in this churchyard especially from the mid-fourteenth century, some of whom asked to be buried near or with a dead spouse or parent. The spurrier, William Passefeld (d. 1349), for instance, wished to be buried near the tomb of Isabella, his wife;¹⁵ seven years

¹³ Dugdale (1658), 45 (Fitz-hugh), 46 (Winterbourne), 54 (Newcourt), 52 (Lichfield) and 53 (Brabazon).

¹⁴ J. Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren* (Swindon, 2011), 167.

¹⁵ HW, i, 618.

later, in 1356, Walter Tiffeld, a spicer, directed his burial in the Cathedral churchyard under his father John's marble slab.¹⁶ In this instance a flat memorial was the preferred means of commemoration because it was practical.

The ordinary churchyard also contained a Chapel of St Mary built over the charnel house in 1277. It was here that Henry de Edelmeton (d. 1279) requested burial and where a chantry was endowed.¹⁷ This led to a strong civic association with the Lady Chapel and where three alabaster tombs were recorded by Stow for the Londoners, Henry Barton, former mayor (d. 1435), Robert Barton (whose date of death is unknown) and Thomas Myrfyn, another former mayor (d. 1523).¹⁸ In his will, Henry Barton directed his burial in the southern part of this chapel near the wall where his tomb had already been prepared.¹⁹ Stow recorded that this was 'grated or coped about with Iron'.²⁰ It is possible that this referred to railing around a sculptured effigy of Henry Barton. Myrfyn had also arranged his tomb during this lifetime; in his will he asked to be buried in the charnel house in St Paul's churchyard with his wife, Alice, and 'there where my tombe is made'.²¹ In this case, Myrfyn seems to have arranged his commemoration when he buried his wife in the chapel above the charnel house.

¹⁶ HW, i, 689-690..

¹⁷ HW, i, 42; C.M. Barron and M-H. Rousseau, 'Cathedral, City and State, 1300-1540', in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint, eds, *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004), 33-44.

¹⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 330.

¹⁹ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 144r-149v.

²⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 330.

²¹ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/21 ff. 97r-99v.

From the 1340s, another cemetery was created in Paul's precinct which was cloistered and known as the Pardon churchyard.²² This was first recorded as a place of burial in the will of the saddler, William de Blithe (d. 1351). His will, written in 1349, referred to the cemetery at St Paul's called 'Pardonchirchew' where he wished to be buried above the 'tumulus' of his father, Ralph de Blithe (d. 1341) who had already been buried there.²³ Testamentary evidence has shown that Pardon churchyard became a popular burial place for Londoners such as Alice (d. 1361), widow of William Outepenne who requested burial near to his tomb;²⁴ Geoffrey Maynarde, a cooper (d. 1387) who directed burial under the marble slab of his wife Margaret;²⁵ and the goldsmith, Richard Betaigne (d. 1389) near to the tomb of his wife, Matilda.²⁶ These memorials may have been similar to the Hotersall monument which was fixed to the wall of the cloister with brass effigies of Hotersall and his wife.

Burial and commemoration in Pardon churchyard was popular with Londoners; it has recently been remarked that this was caused as a consequence of the Black Death when, 'the wealthy developed a preference for the city's mother church in times of crisis [pestilence], rather than adopting the newer institutions founded to cater for these crises'.²⁷ It is likely that the popularity of burial in the Pardon churchyard in time led to the rebuilding of the cloister under the direction of Thomas More, dean 1406-21, with the Chapel of St Anne and St Thomas the

²² Barron and Rousseau, 'Cathedral, City and State', 33-44.

²³ HW, i, 652 (William de Blithe) and 449 (Ralph de Blithe).

²⁴ HW, ii, 44.

²⁵ HW, ii, 260-261.

²⁶ HW, ii, 277.

²⁷ B. Sloane, *The Black Death in London* (Stroud, 2011), 168.

Martyr erected in the centre.²⁸ During this rebuilding, a brass of c. 1410 was removed and used in the foundations of the new cloister.²⁹ But all of the tombs from the chapel – and those in the cloister – were destroyed in 1549.³⁰ Stow tells us how splendid these memorials were:

In this Cloyster [Pardon churchyard] were buried many persons, some of worship, and others of honour: the Monuments of whome, in number and curious workemanship, [sur]passed all other that were in that Church.³¹

St Paul's therefore offered three places of burial in medieval London and interment could take place either inside the Cathedral or in one of the two churchyards. By the time the written accounts were made there was no record of those memorials from the two cemeteries. But the written accounts record 118 tombs from inside the Cathedral and which are summarized in Table 1. This shows that members of the clergy, Londoners, royalty and nobility were commemorated in old St Paul's alongside knights and gentlemen. Table 1 also shows that monuments for the clergy were the most numerous. In spite of the popularity of the two other churchyards with Londoners, yet there were fewer tombs recorded for them. There were also proportionately fewer memorials for royalty, nobility, knights and gentry:

²⁸ M-H Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St Paul's Cathedral, c. 1200-1548* (Farnham, 2011), 73-74. The cloister walls contained John Lydgate's *Dance of Death*, S. Oosterwijk, 'Death, Memory and Commemoration: John Lydgate and *Macabrees Daunce* at Old St Paul's Cathedral, London' in C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), 185-201.

²⁹ J. Page-Phillips, 'An Indent from Old St Paul's', *TMBS*, 11:1 (1969), 42-43.

³⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 330.

³¹ *Ibid*, i, 327-328.

the “trickle down” effect, observant in the mendicants, did not take place at St Paul’s.³²

Table 1: Burial in St Paul’s Cathedral, c. 1140-1540

	Clergy	Londoners	Royalty and nobility	Knights, and Gentry	Unknown status
pre 1349	36	3	5	2	1
1350-99	11	2	2	4	2
1400-49	10	2	1	2	
1450-99	9	3	1		
1500-40	8	2		1	
no date	5	3			3
Sub total:	79	15	9	9	6
Total:	118				

In the following discussion each of these groups will be examined to see what patterns, if any, can be observed about burial and commemoration in St Paul’s Cathedral.

³² See Chapters 6 and 7.

The Clergy

The database records seventy nine monuments for members of the clergy who were buried in St Paul's Cathedral. This represents 67% of the total number of monuments recorded in the Cathedral. The clergy were therefore, unsurprisingly, the largest group to enjoy burial and commemoration at St Paul's Cathedral. In spite of the iconoclasm which St Paul's suffered in the latter part of the sixteenth century, some observations are possible. It is striking that almost half of these monuments for the clergy date from the period preceding the Black Death. As a percentage of clerical commemoration from St Paul's, 45% of their recorded tombs were from before 1349. Many of the earliest monuments were for bishops of London such as for Eustace de Fauconberg (d.1228) **figure 5.3** and his successors Roger Niger (d. 1241) **figure 5.4** and Fulk Bassett (d. 1259). The table in Appendix 6 lists the bishops of London for the period 1140-1540 and records where they were buried and what type of monument they enjoyed (where known). Almost half of those monuments for bishops of London, either in old St Paul's or elsewhere, were flat, brass memorials.

Eustace de Fauconberg is the earliest bishop known to have been commemorated by a monument inside St Paul's Cathedral. According to Dugdale's description this was in the south aisle of the choir and Hollar's drawing shows this set into the wall. Stylistic analysis of Fauconberg's effigy shows similarities with the Purbeck stone effigies of Robert de Bingham, bishop of Salisbury (d. 1246) in

Salisbury Cathedral and Hugh Northwold (d. 1254) and William Kilkenny (d. 1256), both bishops of Ely, at Ely Cathedral.³³ This suggests that the effigy to Fauconberg was commissioned soon after his death in 1228 and that this is therefore an early English example of a fully sculptured effigy for a bishop. St Paul's also contained further thirteenth-century wall monuments commemorating bishops of London, Henry de Wengham (d. 1262), who shared the same recess with Fauconberg, and John de Chishull (d. 1280) in the north choir aisle. Bishop Niger's (d. 1241) monument, on the other hand, is a retrospective tomb chest of 1326 which served as his memorial. This was placed in the eighth bay of the north side of the choir and near to the steps leading into the choir. It has been suggested that the monumental brass for bishop Bassett (d. 1259) was also a retrospective commission made about the same time as bishop Niger's monument. Alongside bishop Bassett was the tomb of his brother Sir Philip Bassett, justiciar to Henry III (d. 1271), which may also have been made as part of the retrospective commission for the bishop in the 1320s.³⁴ It is not known where the monument to the Bassett brothers was located: it is likely that this was in the choir which was the preferred burial spot for high ranking ecclesiastics and where bishop Fulk is likely to have been buried.

There were other thirteenth and fourteenth century monuments to bishops and testamentary evidence for likely monumental brasses, for several fourteenth

³³ N. Coldstream, 'The architecture of the medieval tombs' in J. Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 131-137 at 131.

³⁴ N. Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments, 1270-1350' in J. Coales, ed., *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350* (London, 1987), 8-68 at 41.

century bishops, was noted by Dugdale. These memorials seem to have already been destroyed by the time of Dugdale's visit to the Cathedral in 1641 including, for instance, Henry de Sandwich (d. 1273) and Richard Gravesend (d. 1303).³⁵ Later, Michael de Northburgh (d. 1361) requested a stone to cover his grave by the great west door upon which was to be an inscription 'that might put passengers in mind to pray' and for which he bequeathed £20.³⁶ The bishop's desire for a prominent place of burial near the entrance, a stone over his grave with an inscription drawing attention to the need for prayer suggests that this was also a flat memorial and almost certainly a monumental brass of some size and magnificence: £20 was a great deal to put aside for a funerary monument.

None of these monuments was recorded by Stow and there is no description, or illustration, of them included in Dugdale's account. Apart from de Northburgh's brass, it is not known where the other memorials were located within the Cathedral. They had almost certainly been destroyed in the mid-sixteenth century, probably when a number of unspecified brasses were sold to 'Copper-Smiths and Tinkers'.³⁷ Comparisons with studies elsewhere, show that by the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this form of expensive memorial had become a popular and highly regarded means of episcopal commemoration. For example, one of the earliest brasses for a bishop is that of Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford (d. 1282), of which a small fragment survives. The indent for the

³⁵ Dugdale (1658) 23-25; Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments', 8-68.

³⁶ Dugdale (1658), 24-25; C.M. Woolgar, 'Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate, 1200-1413: Wills, Executors' Accounts and Inventories, and the Probate Process', *The Canterbury and York Society*, 102 (2011), 170-174.

³⁷ Dugdale (1658), 31.

brass of Lewis de Beaumont, bishop of Durham (d. 1333) at Durham Cathedral suggests that this brass was of some magnificence. The intact brass to John Trilleck, bishop of Hereford (d. 1360) at Hereford Cathedral shows the quality of the design.³⁸ Fourteenth century archbishops of York also favoured this high status means of commemoration where a series of monumental brasses was recorded by James Torre in the seventeenth century.³⁹ These drawings show that the brasses could be of two different designs, some being a complete effigial representation of the deceased while others were semi-effigial showing only the upper portion of the deceased, that is the head and torso. The York archbishops also used marginal and foot inscriptions on their brasses thus adding to an overall image of great magnificence.

Only two brasses for bishops of London were illustrated by Hollar, Robert Braybroke (d. 1404) and Robert Fitz-hugh (d. 1436) which were recorded in the choir, **figures 5.5 and 5.6**.⁴⁰ Neither bishop left a surviving will and we do not know the extent of their testamentary instructions about the commission of their memorials. From the illustrations we see that each bishop is shown wearing an alb, dalmatic and chasuble and holding crosiers in their left hands and with their right hands raised in blessing and with marginal inscriptions surrounding their full length effigies. The brass for Braybroke was of slightly greater magnificence since his

³⁸ Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 182. I am grateful to Elizabeth New for discussion on Trilleck's brass and for sight of her forthcoming work on this memorial.

³⁹ S. Badham, 'Monumental Brasses: the Development of the York Workshops in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' in C. Wilson, eds, *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1989), 165-185, at 167-169.

⁴⁰ For Robert Braybroke see, C. Steer 'Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, d. 1404, formerly in St Paul's Cathedral, London' in W. Lack and P. Whittemore, *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century* (London, 2009), 44-45.

brass effigy was displayed beneath a triple canopy mounted on two side shafts. Heraldic arms were displayed beneath the canopy either side of Braybroke's head. There was no canopy on the slab for Fitz-hugh and the heraldic arms were shown in each corner of the slab, a more traditional place for these to be displayed. There are two distinctive aspects of these two brasses. Firstly, they are almost identical. They may have been made at the same time but it is more likely that Braybroke provided a model which Fitz-hugh copied. These are conventional designs for the bishops which may have followed earlier patterns from the lost brasses of their predecessors. The second observation is the relative humility of these brasses. There are, for example, no side shafts containing delicately carved images, or weepers, representing the Apostles or other saints. There was also no foot inscription extolling their virtues and achievements. There is no ostentatious display of wealth on these brasses. It is possible these bishops of London, on their brasses, deliberately wanted to show the dignity of their office but they confined themselves to relatively straightforward monumental brasses.

There are two other notable monuments for bishops of London buried and commemorated in St Paul's Cathedral. Thomas Kempe (d. 1489) was buried in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity which he had founded in the nave. The chapel contained an effigy of Kempe but Hollar's illustration does not indicate very much about the design and composition of this effigy, **figure 5.7**. The drawing suggests an outline of a recumbent effigy, who would have been at prayer, but any other stylistic interpretation would be highly speculative. The nave also contained the Chapel of

St Paul which had been founded by Richard Fitz-james (d. 1522) and which was constructed of timber. This tomb also contained an effigy of the bishop, described by Stow as 'of gray Marble'. The chapel was destroyed in the fire of 1561 when, according to Stow, 'his [bishop Fitz-james] Tombe was taken thence'.⁴¹ This is not shown on the Hollar plan nor recorded by Dugdale. These later medieval monuments to bishops show their adaptation of different types of memorial and also how the tomb formed part of a grander "commemorative unit", in a purpose-built chapel. It is likely that the choice of location for these new chapels in the nave was dictated by lack of space elsewhere, as well as by desire to be seen, and prayed for, by all visitors to the Cathedral and not just those with access to the choir and chapels.

The absence of other monuments to bishops is puzzling. Some bishops were translated to other cathedrals (see Appendix 6), such as William Gray (d. 1436), bishop of London from 1426-31, who moved to Lincoln. The monuments in Lincoln Cathedral were badly damaged during the Civil War and although a record was made by Dugdale on 10 September 1641 in his 'Book of Draughts', nothing was recorded for Gray.⁴² An indent for a former bishop may have represented bishop Gray but this is not clear.⁴³ John Kempe (d. 1454), bishop of London 1419-21, was translated to York and then to Canterbury where his tomb chest survives.⁴⁴ A monument for Archbishop Thomas Savage (d. 1507), who served as bishop of

⁴¹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 336.

⁴² BL MS Add. 71474 ff. 92r-111r.

⁴³ *Ibid*, f. 106r.

⁴⁴ C. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments' in P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks, eds, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995), 451-541 at 481-82.

London 1493-6, survives in York Minster.⁴⁵ Nicholas Bubwith was translated to Salisbury in 1407 before being translated again, four months later, to Bath and Wells where he died in 1424.⁴⁶ Of the remaining fifteenth century bishops of London, Roger Walden (d. 1406) chose burial in a new chapel he had built in the Priory of St Bartholomew's in Smithfield.⁴⁷ There is no record of a monument for bishops Robert Gilbert (d. 1448) and Richard Hill (d. 1496). Bishop Clifford was buried near the shrine of St Erkenwald in St Paul's Cathedral and it may be that the saint's shrine was sufficient for Clifford's own memorial.⁴⁸ The testament of Bishop Gilbert suggests that he was of limited means and that his choice of burial was not as important as it was to his predecessors because this was entrusted to the discretion of his executors (unless they had been given verbal instructions by the dying bishop).⁴⁹ He was buried in St Paul's where there is no recorded monument. Bishop Hill was buried in the nave of St Paul's and in his will he requested that his executors set up six year chantries where he and his parents were buried and another in the church of St Giles in the Fields, Holborn.⁵⁰ It is unlikely that these short term chantries were to be the only memorial for the bishop who was a strong character and who would have wanted a monument set over his grave. Given the loss of earlier fourteenth century monumental brasses of bishops of London, which were known to have been in the nave, it is likely that Hill was also commemorated

⁴⁵ J.H. Harvey, 'Architectural History from 1291 to 1558' in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant. eds, *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), 149-192 at 178.

⁴⁶ I am grateful to Sophie Heard for her discussion on bishop Bubwith's tomb.

⁴⁷ Woolgar, 'Testamentary Records', 266-271.

⁴⁸ ODNB entry by R. G. Davies, 12, 105-107.

⁴⁹ ODNB entry by Irene Zadnik [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47839>, accessed 23 Aug 2013].

⁵⁰ ODNB entry by Rosemary C. E. Hayes [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47267>, accessed 23 Aug 2013].

by a brass which was lost during the iconoclasm of the mid sixteenth century. It is clear from the account made by Dugdale in 1641 that the majority of the monuments he saw extant in St Paul's Cathedral were in the choir, the sanctity of which seems to have preserved the monuments located there. Those in the nave were not so fortunate.

It was not, however, only bishops of London who were buried in St Paul's Cathedral. Stow recorded the monument for Hugh Pattishall (d. 1241), bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.⁵¹ This is a curious reference because bishop Pattishall was buried in Lichfield Cathedral.⁵² He was, however, a canon of St Paul's Cathedral having been appointed to the prebendary of Nesden in 1238-39.⁵³ Stow also recorded a monument for Martin of Pattishall (d. 1229), dean of St Paul's and whose chantry in the Cathedral was founded in 1239 by Margaret widow of William de Bigott.⁵⁴ It is likely that these two men were related and that they, like the Basset brothers discussed above, may have enjoyed a double monument commemorating them both and which may have also been used to commemorate these men during the intercessory services performed at the chantry.

This relationship between the monument and the chantry may also be seen in the case of other members of the Cathedral clergy and in particular the canons. Stow recorded thirteenth century monuments for canon William de Haverhill, lord

⁵¹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 333.

⁵² *ODNB*, entry by M.J. Franklin, 43, 108.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 333; Rousseau, *Saving the Souls*, 29.

treasurer to Henry III (d. 1252), Alexander de Swereford, the Cathedral treasurer (d. 1273), and Godfrey of St Dunstan, a canon (d.1274).⁵⁵ These three canons also enjoyed perpetual chantries within St Paul's Cathedral.⁵⁶ These examples may represent early thirteenth century instances of a deliberate commemorative strategy where the role of the chantry was to dove-tail with the funerary monument during the intercessory service, a strategy which was later copied by other Londoners when they sought intra-mural burial, commemoration and chantry intercession within St Paul's Cathedral (discussed below).

Unfortunately Stow did not describe the appearance of these thirteenth century monuments for the Cathedral clergy and it is difficult to say with any accuracy what they looked like. It is probable that they were flat and perhaps incised, or semi-incised, slabs. It is unlikely that they were monumental brasses since these would have been relatively new and very expensive. In his study of medieval monuments, Nigel Saul observed that memorials for the cathedral clergy in general, especially after the Black Death, tended to be made of brass.⁵⁷ The earlier compositions at St Paul's from the thirteenth century may therefore have been the precursor of the brass, the incised slab. The evidence for monuments in St Paul's has suggested that free-standing, effigial tombs or tomb chests were not

⁵⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 333.

⁵⁶ Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, 175 (de Swereford), 176 (de Haverhill) and 179 (St Dunstan).

⁵⁷ Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 183-186. See also D. Lepine, 'A stone to be layed upon me': the Monumental Commemoration of the Late Medieval English Higher Clergy' in M. Penman, ed., *Monuments and Monumentality Across Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Donington, 2013), 158-170.

common and where there are examples of this form of memorial, they were used to commemorate bishops of London and not the canons.

A Hollar illustration was made of the monumental brass for canon Ralph de Hengham (d. 1311). This is the earliest monument of a canon of St Paul's for which an illustration survives.⁵⁸ It is, perhaps, significant that de Hengham was a former civil servant, having been chief justice of the king's bench and later of the common bench and he was not, therefore, a usual 'career cleric'. This may be why his brass survived and other late thirteenth and early fourteenth century ones did not. He was rewarded with three cathedral canonries (at Hereford, Lichfield and St Paul's) as well as prebends in five collegiate churches and livings in ten counties.⁵⁹ He was a man of wealth and this is reflected in the very fine monumental brass he had commissioned, **figure 5.8**. There is no documentary evidence for this commission but the brass is adorned with thirty nine alternating images of stars and sheep and this is likely to have been a personal choice. It is rare to find these symbols on other monuments of the period although some instances have also been found in stained glass.⁶⁰ As the earliest known brass for a canon, it is tempting to suggest that de Hengham's full length, effigial brass – complete with marginal inscription – inspired later canons to choose a similar design. De Hengham established a trend for monumental brasses amongst the canons in a style previously only enjoyed by

⁵⁸ This brass is discussed in my 'Brass of the Month' for September 2009 on the website for the Monumental Brass Society:

<http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/Brass%20of%20the%20month%20September%202009.html>, accessed 25 March 2012.

⁵⁹ *ODNB* by Paul Brand, 26, 350-351.

⁶⁰ I am grateful to Anna Eavis for her comments on this point. It has been suggested that the sheep may be lions but this is not clear from the illustration, Coldstream, 'The architecture of the medieval tombs', 131-137 at 132.

the bishops. Little is known of other fourteenth century monuments for canons such as William de Chaddleshunt (d. 1321), Walter Thorp (d. 1333) and Alan de Hotham (d. 1351) but an inscription from the monument for Richard Plessis (d. 1361), canon, and also archdeacon of Colchester, was recorded by Dugdale.⁶¹ *Hic jacet Magister Richardus Plessys, quondam Canonicus qui obiit Anno D. MCCCLXI.*⁶² This was the traditional type of 'Hic iacet' text common on brasses and incised slabs. There is no record made of any effigy for Plessys and we cannot be certain on the exact nature of the Plessis monument: it was either a brass inscription or incised onto a marble slab.

The national popularity of brasses is well illustrated by the brass for Thomas de Eure, dean of St Paul's (d. 1400). His brass was a remarkably sophisticated and expensive monumental brass and showed de Eure at prayer, wearing a cope with orphreys containing images of ten saints, **figure 5.1**. Above the effigy of the dean was a cusped canopy and on either side of the effigy, leading into the upper portion of the brass, ten side shafts containing Apostles. Two further Apostles are contained in two further shafts in the super-canopy of the brass.⁶³ The brass is surrounded with a marginal inscription and there are two indents on either side of de Eure's head which presumably displayed his personal coats of arms. The display of saints in the orphrey may have been added by Hollar because it would

⁶¹ For these canons, see J.M. Horn, *John Le Neve Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541* (London, 1963), William de Chaddleshunt (d. 1321), prebendary of Rugmere, 59, and of Weldland, 66; Walter Thorp (d. 1333) prebendary of Harleston, 38; Alan de Hotham (d. 1351), prebendary of Sneaton, 61; Richard Plessis (d. 1361), prebendary of Nesden, 50, and Archdeacon of Colchester, 13.

⁶² Dugdale (1658), 38.

⁶³ R.A.S. MacAlister, 'The Brasses of Old St Paul', *TMBS*, 2:2 (1893), 45-54. I am grateful to Stephen Freeth for his discussion on this brass.

have been unusual for this provocative imagery to have escaped the iconoclasts' attention. It is also likely that Hollar added the image of the Annunciation in the super-canopy of the brass which is not medieval. Nevertheless it is evident that this was a memorial of much magnificence.

The drawings made by Hollar show that other members of the Cathedral clergy enjoyed brass memorials during the fifteenth century and continued to dominate the commemorative landscape with their memorials. Nineteen memorials were recorded for the clergy in this period and seven of these were in the choir. This was a natural place for clerical burials but this may also be because other monuments for the clergy in, for example, the nave, were later removed and the material sold. But the fifteenth century also saw a number of memorials for the Cathedral clergy set up in the Jesus Chapel (also known as the Crowds) in the crypt of the Cathedral. It was here that the Guild of the Holy Name of Jesus was founded shortly before 1450 when Thomas Lisieux, dean of St Paul's, requested burial here.⁶⁴ Four members of the Cathedral clergy were also buried in this chapel, Thomas Say, dean of St Paul's (d. 1468) and four canons, John Good (d. 1450), William West (d. 1466), John Brewster (d. 1469) and William Lilly (d. 1475).⁶⁵ Only the inscriptions for canons Good, West, Brewster and Lilly were recorded by Dugdale and there are no illustrations of their memorials. It is noteworthy that their inscriptions were not formulaic compositions. This may explain why they were recorded by Dugdale and may reflect their personal choice

⁶⁴ E. New, 'The Jesus Chapel in St Paul's Cathedral, London: A Reconstruction of its Appearance Before the Reformation', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 85 (2005), 103-124.

⁶⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 36 (Say); Dugdale (1658) 80 (West and Lilly), 81 (Good and Brewster).

in the commissioning of their memorials or the influence of a member of the Dean and Chapter who either chose them or wrote them (similar to the activities of Abbot John Whethampstede (d. 1465) at St Albans).⁶⁶

It is apparent that memorials to the clergy dominated the commemorative landscape: they far outnumbered the number of lay monuments inside the Cathedral. The recording of a number of tombs for the clergy in the period prior to the Black Death is notable. It is unfortunate that a precise understanding of these early monuments is not possible but it is very likely that they were of a similar design and composition to clerical monuments elsewhere and were flat, incised or semi-incised slabs. There seems to have been a careful management of space in St Paul's Cathedral with very few free standing monuments allowed to obscure the liturgy. The exception was the memorial of Bishop Niger (d. 1241) and in a sense the Dean and Chapter may have welcomed the shrine catching the eye of visitors and the congregation.

The tombs for the clergy in St Paul's seem to show a distinctive pattern of commemoration for the clergy and in particular during the fifteenth century when we have Hollar's drawings. The brasses for the bishops show them in a rather basic composition which perhaps was intended to show their humility. The canons, on the other hand, were attracted to more ostentatious and rather glamorous brasses, even allowing for Hollar's restorations. This shows the wealth which many

⁶⁶ Weever (1631), 574. This practice may also have taken place at St Bartholomew's Hospital where the clergy composed epitaphs, see Chapter 8.

canons enjoyed by the fifteenth century and their desire to be seen and remembered after death. Unlike many of the laity, the clergy did not have their families to visit their graves and say a prayer for them. They needed to attract the eye of visitors in order to be remembered and the examples at St Paul's suggest that many of the canons were aware of this need. As well as the eye-catching brass to Thomas de Eure, the inscriptions on the monuments for Good, West, Brewster and Lilly also suggest that they wanted to be remembered after death.

This discussion also suggests that the monument formed part of a larger commemorative strategy since several of the Cathedral clergy established a perpetual chantry, as well as a tomb.⁶⁷ It may be that this tradition, which seems to have begun in the thirteenth century, was observed by Londoners who came to copy this later in the fourteenth century.

Londoners

Table 1 shows fifteen monuments recorded in St Paul's Cathedral for Londoners. There are five from the fourteenth century, for Sir Nicholas Wokynnden, (d.1321), Hamo de Chigwell, fishmonger, and former mayor (d. 1332) (although his status as a Londoner in the truest sense of the word will be discussed below), Sir John de Pulteney, merchant and former mayor (d. 1349), Walter Neel (d. 1361), corn dealer and former sheriff, and John Hiltoft (d. 1368) goldsmith also a former sheriff. All established chantries in St Paul's Cathedral and all of them were recorded in

⁶⁷ Rousseau, *Saving the Souls*, 67-69.

Stow's *Survey of London*.⁶⁸ None of them was recorded by Sir William Dugdale in his *History of St Paul's Cathedral* either because they were already destroyed or because they were not important to Dugdale.

The earliest of these is for Hamo de Chigwell (d. 1332). Strictly speaking he was a member of the clergy at the time of his death having been arrested and convicted as a felon in 1329, but granted benefit of clergy which saved him from execution.⁶⁹ So he was no longer a Londoner at the time of his death and under the bishop of London's protection as a member of the clergy. However, given his mayoralty during the 1320s, his monument is considered the earliest monument for a Londoner in St Paul's.⁷⁰ Nothing is known of its design but it is likely that he was commemorated by a flat structure, which would not obstruct any view within the Cathedral, and therefore either a monumental brass or incised slab. The location of Chigwell's tomb was not recorded but it may have been near his chantry at St Mary's Altar.⁷¹

A memorial for the merchant and former mayor, Sir John Pulteney (d. 1349) was described by Stow as 'Sir John Poultney Maior, 1348 in a faire chappell by him builded on the north side of Paules, wherein he founded three Chaplains'.⁷² This is curious because in his will Sir John asked to be buried in the College which he had

⁶⁸ For their chantries see, Rousseau, *Saving the Souls*, 181 (Wokyndon) 182 (de Chigwell), 184 (Pulteney) and 185 (Neel and Hiltoft); for their tombs see, Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 335 (de Wokyndon, Chigwell and Pulteney) and 336 (Neel and Hiltoft).

⁶⁹ See *ODNB* entry by Elspeth Veale, 11, 419-420.

⁷⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 335.

⁷¹ Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, 182.

⁷² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 335. For Sir John Pulteney see, *ODNB* entry by Roger L. Axworthy, 45, 546-547.

founded in the London parish church of St Laurence Pountney.⁷³ Stow's description suggests the existence of a monument in Sir John's chantry chapel at St Paul's. It is possible that although Sir John was buried in the College of St Laurence Pountney, a separate monument was placed in the Chapel of St John the Baptist, which served as his chantry chapel at St Paul's Cathedral. It was here that the choristers were to sing an anthem of the Virgin Mary, followed by the recitation of prayers and psalms including the *De Profundis*.⁷⁴ Thus the memorial, showing or at least recording the deceased, would have been present during the chantry service. There is no other monument recorded for Sir John in the written records.

Stow also recorded a monument for the corn dealer Walter Neel (d. 1361), former sheriff, and his wife Alice.⁷⁵ He did not record the location of this tomb within the Cathedral and this is not referred to in the other written sources. The memorial may have been near the altar of St John the Evangelist where his chantry was founded by the canon John de Ware in 1361.⁷⁶ Stow also recorded Neel's burial in St James Garlickhithe.⁷⁷ It is possible that, like Pulteney, Neel enjoyed two memorials one at his grave and another at his chantry.

⁷³ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/077.

⁷⁴ Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, 51.

⁷⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 336.

⁷⁶ Ibid, i, 336; Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, 185.

⁷⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 249.

In his will, John Hiltoft (d. 1369) had requested burial in the Pardon churchyard but Stow recorded his monument inside the Cathedral.⁷⁸ A chantry to Hiltoft and his wife Alice was founded in St Dunstan's Chapel in 1370 by his executors, which was to be administered by the Goldsmiths' Company.⁷⁹ As patron saint of the goldsmiths, St Dunstan's chapel was a natural place for a goldsmith to establish a chantry. Stow's inclusion of Hiltoft in his *Survey* for St Paul's in a section headed 'Monuments' implies that he enjoyed a tomb inside the Cathedral, perhaps at his chantry. It is also possible that he had a grave monument in Pardon churchyard but these were destroyed before any record was made of them. It is likely that Hiltoft's request was fulfilled, and he was buried as he had directed in Pardon churchyard, but that a memorial to him was also associated with his chantry endowment in St Dunstan's Chapel.

The examples of Pulteney, Neel and Hiltoft seem to demonstrate a practice of multiple commemoration where the body was buried in one place and/or a separate memorial placed elsewhere at, for example, the chantry.⁸⁰ In the *Survey*, Stow recorded tombs for Pulteney, Neel and Hiltoft in a list of monuments for

⁷⁸ Ibid, i, p. 336; LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/096.

⁷⁹ Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, 40 and 185.

⁸⁰ Hereford Cathedral, for example, had a series of tombs for former bishops for 1079-1219 which were commissioned c. 1300-1310. It is not thought that they were set near their graves, see P. Lindley, 'Retrospective Effigies, the Past and Lies' in D. Whitehead, ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford* (Leeds, 1995), 111-121. For multiple commemoration see, N. Saul, 'At the Deathbed of Archdeacon Rudyng', *Monumental Brass Society Bulletin*, 108 (May 2008), 155-157 who wished to be buried at Buckingham, where he had arranged a brass, yet another brass survives at Biggleswade. This continues the observations made by V.J.B. Torr, 'The Oddington Shroud Brass and its Lost Fellows', *TMBS* 7:5 (1938), 225-235, in which he discusses the four brasses for Ralph Hamsterley (d. 1518). Retrospective commissions were particularly popular post-Reformation, see for example, C. Liddy with C. Steer, 'John Lord Lumley and the Creation and Commemoration of Lineage in Early Modern England', *The Archaeological Journal*, 167 (2010), 197-227 for the impressive series of monuments at Chester-le-Street, County Durham.

others buried in the Cathedral. Stow also recorded a monument for Neel in St James Garlickhithe and, as we have seen, Pulteney in his will asked to be buried in his College at St Lawrence Pountney.⁸¹ Hiltoft was to be buried in the Pardon churchyard yet his tomb was recorded from inside the Cathedral. The role of the grave monument as a prompter for intercessory prayer has been discussed elsewhere.⁸² It is possible that these fourteenth century examples from St Paul's Cathedral are an adaptation of this practice when the monument acted as a commemorative cenotaph with the body buried in another location. Elsewhere in London in the fourteenth century, a tomb was recorded for Elizabeth, countess of Arundel (d. 1385) in the London Black Friars yet she was buried at Lewes (Sussex).⁸³ John, second lord Cobham (d. 1355) was likewise doubly commemorated with a grave monument under the rood in the London Grey Friars and an effigial brass at Cobham (Kent), which was a retrospective commission of c.1367.⁸⁴ It is possible that Londoners were beginning to copy aristocratic and royal practices to secure double commemoration.

There is more certainty about a London monument inside St Paul's Cathedral made in the first half of the fifteenth century. This is the tomb for John de Boys, esquire of Essex, his wife Isabel and her second husband Nicholas Rekhull,

⁸¹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 335; LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/077.

⁸² A. McGee Morganstern, 'The tomb as prompter for the chantry: four examples from Late Medieval England' in E. Valdez del Alamo with C. Stamatis Pendergast, eds, *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (Aldershot, 2000), 81-89. The role of tomb-visitations as part of a broader commemorative strategy has recently been discussed at Strasbourg Cathedral, see C.A. Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg: The Cathedral's Book of Donors and its Use (1320-1521)* (Farnham, 2011), Chapter 4.

⁸³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 341; *CP*, i, 244-245.

⁸⁴ *Grey Friars Register*, 106; N. Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2000), 87-90.

esquire.⁸⁵ Isabel died in 1443 but the dates of death for her two husbands are not recorded. This is a particularly noteworthy intra-mural monument for a Londoner at St Paul's because Isabel was the descendant of Sir Nicholas Wokyndon (d. 1321) whose chantry at the altar of St Thomas the Martyr had been founded in St Paul's by his widow, Joan in 1320.⁸⁶ In his will, Sir Nicholas asked to be buried in the Cathedral and in a place he had already selected for himself and for his wife, Joan.⁸⁷ Wokyndon's will gave the right to appoint the chantry chaplain to his widow Joan and after her death to their heirs. But in 1424 there was a disagreement as to who held this right: the Dean and Chapter found in favour of the Rekhulls, Wokyndon's heirs. Isabel was herself buried in the Chapel of St George in the north aisle of the chancel and which, significantly, had replaced the earlier altar of St Thomas.⁸⁸ Isabel was thus buried on the site of her ancestors' chantry. Given that only Isabel was commemorated on the brass this is likely to be a statement of ownership of her ancestor's chantry within the Cathedral. It is not known where her two husbands were buried. Her brass again serves to illustrate the important relationship between the monument and the chantry.

The remaining monuments for Londoners at St Paul's are the alabaster effigies for the skinnners, Henry Barton, former mayor (d. 1435), Robert Barton (whose date of death is unknown) and Thomas Myrfyn, another former mayor (d.

⁸⁵ Dugdale (1658), 70.

⁸⁶ Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, 180.

⁸⁷ HW, i, 290.

⁸⁸ Weever (1631), 368.

1523) all in the Chapel of St Mary in the Charnel House.⁸⁹ These were technically extra-mural monuments being outside the Cathedral. Stow also recorded a monument for the goldsmith, John Drayton (d. 1458) in the All Souls Chapel, but with no description of the tomb. Only the record of probate for Drayton's will is recorded and it is not known what his testamentary instructions were concerning his burial and any commemorative intentions.⁹⁰ However, in the All Souls Chapel he had founded a chantry for Roger Walden (d. 1406), bishop of London, who was buried in the Priory of St Bartholomew Smithfield.⁹¹ There is, however, no evidence of a monument for bishop Walden associated with his chantry at St Paul's. It is possible that Drayton may have wished to benefit from Walden's chantry service by choosing to be buried in the All Souls Chapel.

By 1658 there were very few examples of monuments of Londoners' which had survived from before the Reformation inside St Paul's Cathedral. This suggests that Londoners did not wish to be buried inside the Cathedral or that they were excluded from intra-mural burial: they may also not have been of sufficient interest to the heralds and antiquarians to record. The relationship between their monuments and the chantries suggests, tentatively, that there may have been a pattern of chantry foundation at which the tomb played a part in the intercessory services, while the body and (sometimes) a second tomb were located elsewhere. Londoners may have been more innovative and creative in their choice of burial, memorialization and intercession than has hitherto been thought.

⁸⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 330.

⁹⁰ HW, ii, p. 538.

⁹¹ Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, 187; Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 381.

Royalty and Nobility

There are four royal tombs in St Paul's Cathedral although it is doubtful whether two of them actually rest over remains. The royal tombs are for Saebbi, King of the East Saxons (d. 694), Ethelred II, King of the West Saxons (d. 1016), John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (d. 1399) with his first wife, Blanche (d. 1368) and Anne of Burgundy, duchess of Bedford (d. 1433), first wife of John, duke of Bedford (d. 1435). Gaunt and his granddaughter-in-law were cadet members of the royal family and are therefore considered in this category.

The monuments for the Anglo-Saxon kings, Saebbi and Ethelred, were retrospective and date from the mid twelfth century. They are similar in design and set as separate chest tombs into two wall recesses behind a series of canopied arches, in the north choir aisle wall, **figure 5.9**.⁹² The chests were made of dark grey or black marble. The St Paul's monuments have an inscription attached to the wall above each of the tomb chests recording those commemorated. There was nothing distinctive about these monuments. King Saebbi appointed St Erkenwald (d. 693) to the See of London and his shrine was at St Paul's, and it is probably because of this association that a monument was made for the king around the time of the translation of St Erkenwald and the construction of a new wooden shrine begun in 1139.⁹³ The commissioning of King Saebbi's tomb was evidently

⁹² Dugdale (1658), 64; C. Davidson Cragoe, 'Fabric, Tombs and Precinct 1087-1540' in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London*, 127-142 at 132.

⁹³ A. Thacker, 'The Cult of Saints and the Liturgy' in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London*, 113-122, 115 and 116.

used as an opportunity to commemorate Ethelred II. The Chapter of St Paul's evidently wished to celebrate this second royal burial by erecting a tomb at the same time as the other reputed royal burial.

The monument for John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with his first wife Blanche was of some magnificence, **figure 5.10**. In 1374 the duke arranged for alabaster from his estate at Tutbury (Staffordshire) to be brought to London. The tomb was made by Henry Yevele (d. 1400) who was assisted by the mason, Thomas Wrek (d. 1393) and the fee was agreed at £486. In 1379, the smith Richard Daveler was paid £80 to make an iron railing to surround the tomb and in the following year, Richard Burgate and Robert Davy were paid £26 to paint the tomb chest and canopy. The alabaster and weepers were not painted. The total cost came to £592 and the work was largely completed by June 1380. The tomb was on the north side of the choir, between two piers of the arcade adjacent to the sanctuary.⁹⁴

Blanche was the first member of the royal family known to have been buried in St Paul's Cathedral since the supposed interments of the Anglo-Saxon kings, Saebbi and Ethelred II. This choice is unusual because at the time of her death, many members of the English royal family, and especially women, had been buried

⁹⁴ In 1403, a chantry chapel was described as opposite the tomb of Gaunt and Blanche which continued until the chantry's suppression in 1548, O. Harris, '*Une tresriche sepulture*: The tomb and chantry of John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster in Old St Paul's Cathedral, London', *Church Monuments*, 25 (2010), 7-35.

in the mendicant houses of London with which they were associated.⁹⁵ Others were interred in Westminster Abbey. There was no tradition of royal burial at St Paul's and the explanation for the choice may be dynastic. A cult to her great-uncle, Thomas, earl of Lancaster (d. 1322) had developed at St Paul's, and her burial may therefore reflect her personal wish to benefit from her martyred uncle.⁹⁶ It is also possible that she was buried in St Paul's Cathedral because her husband, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster intended to create a new Lancastrian mausoleum in London's Cathedral church.

The monument for Blanche and Gaunt came to serve as something much finer than either of them might have enjoyed either at the London Grey Friars or at Westminster Abbey where the growing necropolis meant that the prestigious places were already occupied.⁹⁷ The magnificence of the joint tomb is borne out by the recorded expenditure and the Sedgwick and Hollar drawings. But this joint tomb was also innovative because of its hand-holding and predates a similar posture shown on the joint-tomb of Richard II (d. 1400) and his first wife, Anne of Bohemia (d. 1394) in Westminster Abbey.⁹⁸ The tomb played an important role in the anniversary service when tapers burnt around the tomb during the obits for

⁹⁵ C. Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540' in *Memory and Commemoration*, 117-142.

⁹⁶ Harris, '*Une tresriche sepulture*', 9.

⁹⁷ P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (London, 1995) esp. Chapter 6.

⁹⁸ For handholding see Harris, '*Une tresriche sepulture*', appendix. There were several comparable monuments to the Lancaster tomb which show hand-holding, e.g. the tomb of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (d. 1369), and his wife Katherine (d. 1369) in the church of St Mary's, Warwick, which dates to the 1370s.

Gaunt and Blanche. A light was to burn over the tomb and for the anniversary of the duchess, twenty-four paupers acted as torchbearers at the tomb.⁹⁹

By contrast there is very little known about the monument in the Cathedral for Anne of Burgundy (d. 1433) the first wife of John, duke of Bedford.¹⁰⁰ There is some uncertainty as to whether Anne was, in fact, interred here since only Stow refers to her burial there.¹⁰¹ In fact Anne's burial and tomb were recorded in the church of the Célestins in Paris, where she died in childbirth.¹⁰² The effigy from her French tomb survives.¹⁰³ It is possible that the monument Stow recorded was part of a larger commemorative programme, with her effigy in Paris and a second memorial in London perhaps commemorating her obsequies. Stow does not record the location of this tomb nor does he describe it but it is possible that it was near to the tomb and chantry chapel of her husband's grandparents, the duke and duchess of Lancaster.

There were no further royal monuments at St Paul's. Several members of the aristocracy were however buried in the Cathedral in tombs recorded by Stow and Dugdale. But the earliest known monument for a member of the nobility St Paul's was not recorded by them. This is for Alice, countess of Pembroke (d.c. 1216), wife of William Marshall the younger, earl of Pembroke (d. 1231), for whom

⁹⁹ J.B. Post, 'The Obsequies of John of Gaunt', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, V (1981), 1-12 at 6-7; M-H Rousseau, *Saving the Souls*, 61-62.

¹⁰⁰ I am grateful to Jenny Stratford and her comments on the duchess.

¹⁰¹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 336.

¹⁰² *CP*, ii, 72.

¹⁰³ This is now on display in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. A metal commemorative plaque, also thought to be from her tomb, is on display in the Musée national du Moyen Age, Paris.

a light was to be maintained over her tomb.¹⁰⁴ Her husband was not buried with her, but was buried alongside his father at the Temple Church where his brothers, and successors as earl, also chose to be buried. In the early thirteenth century, effigial monuments were still relatively new and restricted to the upper clergy.¹⁰⁵ It is possible that the countess of Pembroke may have had such a monument but it is more likely that it was flat, perhaps a cross slab or an incised/semi-incised slab.

There are no other recorded noble monuments from St Paul's Cathedral until the effigy of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln (d. 1311). He died at his town house at Holborn and it is likely that as a major benefactor of St Paul's he was permitted burial here.¹⁰⁶ His tomb was located between the Lady Chapel and St Dunstan's Chapel. Hollar's illustration shows that it was a carved effigy of a recumbent knight, shown at prayer, with his feet resting on a lion, **figure 5.11**.¹⁰⁷ Weever records that his feet were crossed but this is not suggested by Hollar's drawing (who may have deliberately straightened out the legs for the purpose of his illustration).¹⁰⁸ The effigy of the earl rests on a tomb chest with the front panel containing ten weepers. They appear to be lay men and not saints but this may be questioned given Hollar's tendency to exaggerate the details on the tomb.

There were no other tombs recorded for the nobility until the death of Sir John Beauchamp, K.G. in 1360. He was second son of Guy, earl of Warwick,

¹⁰⁴ M. Gibbs, *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, London* (Camden Society, 58, 1939), 176-177.

¹⁰⁵ Saul, *English Church Monuments*, chapter 3.

¹⁰⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 326; *CP*, vii, 681-687 at 686.

¹⁰⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 333; Dugdale (1658) facing 56.

¹⁰⁸ Weever (1631), pp. 365-366.

created lord Beauchamp of Warwick in 1357.¹⁰⁹ His recumbent effigy, resting on a tomb chest in the south side of the Cathedral, was illustrated by Hollar, **figure 5.12**. He too is shown in the traditional apparel of a man of his class and rank, in plate armour and with heraldic designs displayed on the side panels of the tomb chest. His fellow Garter knights, Sir Walter Mauny, K.G. (d.1372) and Sir Richard de Pembridge, K.G. (d. 1376) both asked for their tombs to be like that of Sir John in their wills. Sir Walter was buried at the London Charterhouse where he required a tomb to be made of alabaster, with an image of him shown as a knight and with his heraldic arms, to be similar to Sir John's tomb at St Paul's.¹¹⁰ Sir Richard requested that his tomb in Hereford Cathedral should also be of a design similar to Sir John's, and this also was to contain displays of his arms.¹¹¹ Sir Richard's will goes on to refer to iron railings to be set around the tomb similar to those around the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp at St Paul's.¹¹² This is the only reference to railings around Sir John's monument because they are not referred in any of the written records and they are not shown on Hollar's illustration. They may have been removed by this time because of the value of the metal or they may have been air-brushed by Hollar in order not to interfere with his illustration.

Tomb emulation seems to have been quite common. John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, also K.G. (d. 1375), in his will, drawn up on 5 May 1372, asked to be buried in St Paul's Cathedral and to have a monument near to his grave by the

¹⁰⁹ *CP*, ii, 50-51.

¹¹⁰ N.H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 2 vols (London, 1826), i. 85-86.

¹¹¹ For Sir Richard Pembridge, see *ODNB* entry by Anthony Gross, 43, 511-512; for the tomb see, M. Downing, *Military Effigies of England and Wales: Gloucestershire-Lancashire* (Shrewsbury, 2011), 80.

¹¹² *HW*, ii, pp. 188-189.

north wall, which was to be as similar as possible to that of Elizabeth de Clare, countess of Ulster (d. 1360) at the London Minoresses.¹¹³ Pembroke left £140 for the construction of this monument suggesting that the countess of Ulster's tomb must have been of some magnificence. Pembroke's mother, Agnes, countess of Pembroke (d. 1368), had also been buried and commemorated with a monument at the London Minoresses and it is very likely that her son had noticed, and been impressed by, the countess of Ulster's tomb when visiting his mother's grave.¹¹⁴ However there is no evidence to suggest that Pembroke ever had the monument he desired in St Paul's. He died in Picardy and his body was brought back to England and buried in the convent of the Black Friars in Hereford.¹¹⁵

There are no further aristocratic monuments from St Paul's Cathedral until the latter half of the fifteenth century when Margaret, countess of Shrewsbury (d. 1467) was buried in the Jesus Chapel in the crypt. This burial is distinctive for a number of reasons. Firstly, she is the only member of the senior nobility to be buried in St Paul's Cathedral during the fifteenth century.¹¹⁶ She is also the first noble lady in two hundred years (since Alice Marshall, countess of Pembroke) to be commemorated in her own right rather than as an adjunct to her lord's monument as was the case with Blanche of Lancaster. She probably chose burial in the Jesus Chapel because her husband John, killed at Castillon in 1453, had

¹¹³ Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, 87-88.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, i, 71-72.

¹¹⁵ *CP*, x, 391-394.

¹¹⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 336-337. The only other 'noble' burial was that of Beatrix (d. 1409) wife of Thomas, Lord Rouse, and widow of Sir Richard Burley. But the Complete Peerage does not recognize a Rouse barony in the early fifteenth century and this example has therefore been discounted as a member of the nobility.

been included as a supplicant figure in the painting of a Transfiguration thought to have been over entranceway to the Jesus chapel.¹¹⁷ It is apparent that the monument was not in place for Lady Shrewsbury either before, or immediately after, her death because when a Talbot servant, John Wenlock came to draw up his will in 1477, he made provision for its construction:

Item I welle that there be spended upon a tombe ovir my lady of Shrewsbury there as she is buried a fore Jhesus if therefore licence may be had of the Dean and Chapter C li and if no licence canne be had thanne the said C li to be employed there as mynne executours canne thinke most for the welfare of my soule¹¹⁸

Wenlock referred to his 'maister', Sir Humphrey Talbot, a younger son of Lady Shrewsbury, who was appointed one of Wenlock's executors. Sir Humphrey was to be aided by a John Hewet (relationship to Wenlock unknown) and Thomas Winterbourne, dean of St Paul's, who would, presumably, have been able to provide the necessary licence to make a tomb for Lady Shrewsbury. In his own will of 1494, Sir Humphrey asked 'also I wil there be a stone put in the pyller by fore the grave of my lady my moder in Powlis of her portretour and of her Armes according to the Wille of John Wenlok'.¹¹⁹ This suggests that the image and coats of arms for his mother were the finishing touches to a much grander design which had cost Wenlock £100. Lady Shrewsbury's monument may have been a tomb chest with a brass effigy or, considering the funds left for its construction, perhaps

¹¹⁷ New, 'The Jesus Chapel' 108. I am grateful to Elizabeth New for her discussion on this painting and the Jesus Chapel. A sixteenth century portrait, or a copy of an earlier portrait, of the earl hangs in the College of Arms, London. It is thought that this hung over the monument of the countess in St Paul's and was saved during the fire of 1666, see *ODNB* entry by A.J. Pollard, 53, 701-704.

¹¹⁸ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/6 ff. 254r-255r.

¹¹⁹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/10 ff. 156r-157r.

a carved effigy. Her tomb was almost certainly part of the job-lot which was sold in 1552 when the Jesus Chapel was converted to the new parish church of St Faith's.¹²⁰

Very few members of the royal family and nobility chose to be buried in St Paul's Cathedral. Royalty, especially during the fourteenth century, were buried either in Westminster Abbey or in the mendicant house; the aristocracy were likewise buried in the city convents or in monasteries near to their country estates. John of Gaunt broke a royal tradition when he arranged for his wife, Blanche, to be buried in the Cathedral. The tomb was of superb craftsmanship and extremely distinctive. And because very few members of the aristocracy were buried inside the Cathedral, Gaunt's tomb would have been particularly noticeable. It is also striking that the widowed countess of Shrewsbury chose to be buried in the Jesus Chapel of St Paul's. She was the daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and may have lived in Warwick Inn just north of St Paul's and this may explain why she sought burial in this particular place. The Talbot family's association with dean Thomas Liseux may also have led to the countess' decision to be buried in this particular chapel.¹²¹

¹²⁰ H.B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation* (London, 1939), 274-278. During the rebuilding work carried out during the 1550s, a reference is made to a marble stone which was sold to Mistress Crooke, widow, for ten shillings. Although this is the only reference to the sale of a tomb it is suggested in the inventory that a whole-scale removal of the funerary monuments from the Jesus Chapel took place. There are no illustrations of the Shrewsbury tomb in either the Book of Monuments or in *A History of St Paul's Cathedral*.

¹²¹ The Talbot associated with Liseux is suggested by C.N.L. Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1485', in W.R. Matthews and W.M. Atkins, eds, *A History of St Paul's Cathedral and the Men Associated With It* (London, 2nd edition, 1964), 1-99 at 96.

Knights and Gentry

The earliest recorded monument for a member of the knightly class is the tomb for Sir Philip Bassett (d. 1271). Stow is the only source for this monument which he placed with the tomb of Basset's brother, Fulk bishop of London (d. 1259).¹²² In the discussion on bishop Basset's monument, it was suggested that this may have been a retrospective commission of the 1320s at which point it was thought appropriate to include the bishop's younger brother on the tomb as well. Sir Philip had died in 1271 and was buried at Stanley (Wiltshire).¹²³ He was a loyal royal servant to Henry III, fighting for the king at Evesham (1265). Sir Philip sought entry into the nobility, by his second marriage to Ela (d. 1297/8) the daughter of William Longespée, earl of Salisbury. Sir Philip's only daughter, and heir Alina (d. 1281) was first married to Sir Hugh le Despenser who was killed fighting against the king at Evesham in 1265. She remarried Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk. The countess' heir was Sir Hugh le Despenser, favourite of Edward II who was executed in 1326.

Sir Philip Basset's retrospective monument was included with the tomb of his brother, bishop Fulk, at about the same time that his grandson was executed. It is possible that the commissioning of the tomb was a deliberate strategy by the family and intended to remind public opinion of Despenser's lineage and relationship to Henrician statesmen. It is perhaps no coincidence that the tomb for Despenser's family was placed in St Paul's shortly after the execution of Thomas,

¹²² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 333.

¹²³ See ODNB entry by R. Malcolm Hogg, 4, 267-268.

earl of Lancaster (d. 1322) who quickly attracted a cult at St Paul's.¹²⁴ In this way, the Basset monument served not only to secure prayer and intercession: it also acted as a public record of two eminent courtiers erected at a time when the family fortunes were under a cloud.

Some other members of the knightly class were also buried in St Paul's Cathedral and in particular the Knights of the Garter. The earliest, as already noted, was for a member of the nobility, Sir John Beauchamp, K.G., lord Beauchamp of Warwick (d. 1360). Within fourteen years, the tomb of John of Gaunt, another Knight of the Garter, and his wife Blanche was under construction. The role of lord Beauchamp's tomb as a model for the tombs of his fellow knights, John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, Sir Richard Pembridge and Sir Walter Mauny, has been noted. But Beauchamp's monument may also have served to attract other Garter knights to St Paul's Cathedral for their burial and commemoration. Stow recorded monuments for Sir Alan Buxhull, K.G. (d. 1381) and Sir Richard Burley, K.G. (d. 1409). A third monument to Sir Alan Burshete, K.G. (d.c. 1420) was recorded by Thomas Hawley in his visitation of St Paul's in 1530.¹²⁵ There is uncertainty about Hawley's identification of Sir Alan Burshete because there is no other record of his existence as a Knight of the Garter.¹²⁶ The description made by Hawley records the Burshete monument thus:

¹²⁴ A. Thacker, 'The Cult of Saints and the Liturgy', 113-122 at 120.

¹²⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 337 (Buxhill) and 336 (Burley); *Heralds and Heraldry*, 140 (Burshete).

¹²⁶ H.E.L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), Appendix 1.

Also with owt the Qwer at the upper ynd of the Cherge [church], a lytill frome the scryne of Saincte Earcnolde, lyethe a Knyght of the Order of the Garter, with the Garter abutte his Leke [neck]; and on hyme a fayre long Slatte-Stone wherin he lyghe pykter in brasse; and on the said Ston in dyvers places, the Garter sett and grave in the said metell of brasse; who name ys ther ingraven. And calld Monsr Aleyn Burschate; but ther ys maid ther no memory what tyme nor what Dayte, he was ther beryd; but hyt semyth by the old and anschant lying, hyt schuld be the days of Henry the Vth of whos sol Jhesu have merce.¹²⁷

Although Stow did not describe the composition and material of the Buxhull monument he did include the location of the knight's body as 'buried beside Saint Erkenwalds shrine'. It seems reasonably certain therefore that Hawley mis-read 'Buxhull' as 'Burshete'.

Hawley's description of Sir Alan Buxhull's monument is important because it refers to a brass as the form of memorial. It is dated to 1381 and this would be an early example of this type of monument for a Knight of the Garter. Hawley's suggestion that the style of its design was of the reign of Henry V (1413-22) is noteworthy and should not be discounted as the mistake of a herald more interested in heraldry than the design of the brass. Hawley would, after-all, have been very familiar with all sorts of funerary monuments from his visitations. Sir Alan Buxhall's widow, Maud (d. 1424), married John Montagu, earl of Salisbury who had been executed at Cirencester for his role in the rebellion against Henry IV in 1400. The countess Maud successfully arranged for the re-interment of her husband in 1420 and a contract survives requesting two effigies, arranged by her agent Richard Hertcombe, to be placed at the Salisbury mausoleum at Bisham Priory

¹²⁷ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 140.

(Berkshire).¹²⁸ It is possible that the countess Maud took the opportunity to arrange a retrospective brass effigy for her first husband in St Paul's Cathedral at the same time that she had instructed Hertcombe to commission the monument for herself and her second husband, also a Knight of the Garter, at the Salisbury mausoleum. This shows the importance of the family, and the important role played by the widow, in commissioning monuments.

The effigy to Sir Richard Burley, K.G. (d. 1409) was misidentified by Dugdale as the monument for Sir Richard's uncle, Sir Simon Burley, K.G. (d. 1388).¹²⁹ This was based on an inscription on a sixteenth century tabula which incorrectly recorded which member of the Burley family was commemorated by the tomb. The identification of the monument to Sir Richard is clear through the heraldic evidence.¹³⁰ After his execution in 1388, Sir Simon was buried in the Abbey of St Mary Grace's (East Minster) where Richard II paid for a tomb for his former tutor.¹³¹ The tomb as that of Sir Richard was correctly identified, and recorded, by Stow but ignored by later editors of his *Survey* and also by Dugdale. However, the Hollar illustration shows this to be a tomb of considerable richness and magnificence, **figure 5.13** This consisted of a carved effigy of Sir Richard,

¹²⁸ S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, 'Cest Endenture Fait Parentre': English Tomb Contracts of the Long Fourteenth Century' in S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, eds, *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010), 187-236 at 224-235; J. Bayliss, 'An Indenture for Two Alabaster Effigies', *CM*, 16 (2001), 22-29.

¹²⁹ Dugdale (1658), 69.

¹³⁰ Coldstream, 'The architecture of the medieval tombs' in *St Paul's Cathedral*, 131-140 with particular reference to the comments by Nigel Saul who identified the Burley tomb as Sir Richard and not Sir Simon, 135-136.

¹³¹ *ODNB* entry by John L. Leland, 8, 869-870. This reflects King Richard's interest in commissioning monuments for his closest advisors which was at its peak during the 1390s, see Nigel Saul, 'The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey', *TMBS*, 15:1 (1992), 19-32.

recumbent and at prayer, with his feet resting on a lion and his head on a cushion. Beneath the head was an elaborate three dimensional panelled and gabled canopy. The effigy rests on a tomb chest with ten shallow niches: these would have been too narrow to have contained a sculptured weeper but they may have been intended for painted images of either the Heavenly Host or Sir Richard's family and associates. In her comparison of the earlier Sedgwick drawing and the illustration made by Hollar, Nicola Coldstream has suggested that this was the monument most improved by Hollar, who changed the design of the canopy.¹³²

There is one other notable burial and monument in St Paul's Cathedral from the years immediately preceding the Reformation: the memorial for Thomas Linacre (d. 1524), humanist scholar and physician.¹³³ This was recorded very briefly by Stow who did not comment on the location of the monument or its composition.¹³⁴ The inscription was recorded by Dugdale but he did not include an illustration of the monument in his *History of St Paul's*.¹³⁵ The monument was erected in 1557 by John Caius as a retrospective commission. That there was no illustration of this monument suggests that it was a sixteenth century tablet which only contained the epitaph with no image of the deceased. The inscription is a bespoke composition which records Linacre's life. Although this monument was commissioned during the resurgence of Catholicism during the reign of Queen Mary (1553-58), there was no request for intercessory prayer and the inscription

¹³² Coldstream, 'The architecture of the medieval tombs' in *St Paul's Cathedral*, 131-140.

¹³³ For Linacre, see *ODNB* entry by Vivian Nutton, 33, 803-806.

¹³⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 337.

¹³⁵ Dugdale (1658), 41.

instead focused on Linacre's humanist values. This post-Reformation commemorative composition was the earliest example in St Paul's of a new form of inscription which broke with the traditional request for prayer and intercession. It paved the way for other elaborate epitaphs of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the Cathedral.¹³⁶

Conclusion

The evidence suggests that while burial was important at St Paul's, who was buried where was controlled by the Dean and Chapter. In spite of the loss of many monuments, more were recorded for the clergy than for any other social group inside the Cathedral. The popularity of St Paul's graveyards for Londoners is clear but few were commemorated by monuments inside the Cathedral and of those who were are often with cenotaphs with an intercessory function rather than a grave marker. Patronage by the royal family and the aristocracy was slight: it is unlikely that the Dean and Chapter attempted to exclude such burials – which would have brought visitors – but that royalty and the aristocracy were attracted elsewhere. For those buried and commemorated in St Paul's, it seems to have been their personal devotion, seen in the case of Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and Blanche, duchess of Lancaster, which led to their burial there. It is evident from the descriptions and illustrations of these tombs that they were large and eye-catching, which is not altogether surprising. Aristocratic burial may have triggered the desire for many

¹³⁶ For example, Sir John Mason (d. 1566), Sir Nicholas Bacon (d. 1579) and Sir Christopher Hatton (d. 1591). These are discussed by N. Llewellyn, 'Post-Reformation monuments' in *St Paul's Cathedral*, 187-193.

Knights of the Garter to choose interment at St Paul's but it is also possible that the Cathedral came to serve as an alternative choice for burial for this band of brothers rather than the Chapel of St George's, Windsor (Berkshire). Like the aristocracy they too seem to have enjoyed monuments of great splendour.

Several monuments formed part of a pair with a memorial in the Cathedral and a tomb elsewhere. The evidence from St Paul's suggests that this was an established and recognized practice. The earliest known instance of this seems to have been the burial of Hugh Pattishall (d. 1241), bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Later examples are of Sir Philip Bassett, several Londoners, including Sir John Pulteney and John Hiltoft, and later Anne of Burgundy, duchess of Bedford. This practice was thus not restricted to one social group but used by all as a means to promote a remembrance and prayers. The commissioning of an extra tomb set up at St Paul's shows how important the memorial was in fulfilling the commemorative strategies of the deceased and in particular the links with chantries. There seems to have been a pattern for Londoners who had a chantry and a monument in St Paul's. Evidence from here and elsewhere records how the tomb and chantry were used during the intercessory service, such as the light over the tomb of Alice, countess of Pembroke and the choristers who were required to sing and pray in the chantry for Sir John Pulteney. Family ownership of chantry chapels was also important, and can be seen in the case of Isabel Rukhill who left her mark of ownership on her ancestors' chantry chapel by commissioning a monumental brass to herself and her two husbands. This example also shows how a

descendent might choose to be added to the commemorative function of the chantry by commissioning a tomb in the same place.

But it was the memorials for the Cathedral clergy that dominated the commemorative landscape in St Paul's and suggest that in the thirteenth century the bishops enjoyed large and impressive monuments which were magnificent and memorable. Although there is no evidence for the type of monument the canons enjoyed, it seems that their commemorative needs may have been met by conventional flat incised slabs which were lost by the time of Dugdale and Sedgwick's visit in 1641. It is perhaps telling that the early examples for monumental brasses commemorating bishops of London, such as de Sandwich, de Gravesend and Northburgh were destroyed: they had caught the attention of the iconoclasts probably because they were large and rich in religious imagery which made them natural targets both as idolatrous images and as a source of metal to be sold. It seems that the thirteenth century use of sculptured effigies changed to large impressive brasses during the fourteenth century as new designs became available. This change may be observed elsewhere.¹³⁷ By the fifteenth century, this form of monument had also been adopted by the canons. It is noteworthy that this coincides with a subtle change in design to be observed in the bishops' memorials: now that the canons were enjoying elaborate monuments, bishops Braybrooke and Fitz-hugh chose to be commemorated with less ostentatious and showy memorials. Later changes in attitude saw the return of the

¹³⁷ Saul, *English Church Monuments*, chapter 8.

effigy used as part of bishops Kemp and Fitz-james' commemorative projects within their chapels in the nave.

Finally, the medieval monuments in St Paul's Cathedral show the practice of retrospective commissions and confirm that monuments were not always made during the lifetime of the deceased or immediately after death. The retrospective tombs for King Saebbi and King Ethelred II were commissioned during the translation of St Erkenwald. Those of bishop Fulk Bassett and his brother Sir Philip may have been associated with the desires of their families to rehabilitate the Despenser reputation by reminding their contemporaries of their worthy ancestors. A similar strategy may have been used when Maud, countess of Salisbury, sought to secure the remains of her second husband and re-inter them at the family mausoleum at Bisham Priory when she commissioned memorials for herself and the earl while at the same time arranging for a monumental brass for her first husband, Sir Alan Buxhull at St Paul's Cathedral. It is of little surprise that Sir William Dugdale's remarked:

And do we not yet see, with what venerable respect the most eminent men amongst us, for learning and knowledge, and so likewise those which travel hither from foreign parts, do virtually go to see those stately Tombs and Monuments, yet remaining, of our kings, nobles, and several other worthy persons, in the Abbey-church of Westminster? Nor did they do the like with less regard to those in this some time glorious Cathedral, whilst they stood as is not forgotten (I am sure) by many¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Dugdale (1658), 31-32.

The rich collection of elaborate, varied and magnificent monuments would have been visually very stunning. The polish of the many brasses in particular would have sparkled brightly when first laid down. The medieval tombs of St Paul's Cathedral were certainly a sight worth seeing.

Chapter 6: The Grey Friars

On 12 November 1538 Thomas Chapman, Warden of the London Grey Friars, surrendered the convent to the Crown.¹ Thus ended an association between the friars and the city which had endured for over 300 years. Writing sixty years later, John Stow reflected on this loss and in particular the destruction of over 600 monuments from the Grey Friars church which, he wrote, had been sold by Sir Martin Bowes for £50 'or thereabouts'. This included over 140 monumental brasses.² Stow did not record when this loss took place but it was probably shortly before the Franciscan church was amalgamated in 1547 with the neighbouring parishes of St Nicholas Shambles and St Audoen to form the new parish of Christ Church Newgate Street. It is likely that this took place during Sir Martin's mayoralty in 1545-46 and that it was as a civic responsibility that the mayor came to oversee the stripping out of the Grey Friars church, rather than as an entrepreneur seeking private profit from the site.³ The city of London, as a corporate body, thus found itself at the centre of the Henrician Reformation with responsibility for removing the commemoration of the dead from London's largest mendicant house.

This bleak assessment of the loss of tombs from the Grey Friars is mitigated by the survival of the *Register of the Grey Friars* which contains a list of 684 burials

¹ Barron and Davies, 126.

² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 322.

³ It is curious that in 1548, Sir Martin wrote to the authorities in York (his home parish) exhorting them to save the memorials for his family in St Cuthbert's Peasholme which were under threat, D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), 228. Bowes was successful and a brass – to his grandfather William Bowes (d. 1439) – survives under a floorboard in the church today. Sir Martin also had his own tomb in the parish church of St Mary Woolnoth which Stow recorded, Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 205.

and monuments from this house.⁴ There are also two actual tombs of Bernat de Jambe and Philip de Srepham, a monk of Ely, dating to the late thirteenth century which were found during an archaeological dig in the 1840s near the site of the Grey Friars;⁵ these were not recorded in the burial list. Thus while almost all the material evidence has gone, the written record is rich.⁶ The *Register*, written about 1526 and maintained by the brethren, was probably of functional use and intended to help the friars find new grave spaces for later interments and to assist anyone visiting a particular grave, either for liturgical purposes or to view the tomb. Nothing else like the *Register* survives for any other religious house in London. The descriptions of the tombs suggest the type of memorial which was in place which is not always easy to discern from other accounts. For example this burial list recorded 384 references to 'lapide' or 'plano' from which we may confidently conclude that these were flat monuments set in to the floor of the convent. As such they would have been either incised slabs or, as they became more affordable, monumental brasses. As the cost of buying a brass dropped during the fifteenth century, the strong likelihood is that many of the late medieval monuments which were recorded as 'lapide' in the Grey Friars were, in fact, brasses. It is also possible to identify where the tombs were in relation to each other and particularly to windows, altars and other features, **figure 6.1**.⁷ It is not possible to do this in such detail in the other London houses where we are instead reliant on the

⁴ *Grey Friars Register*. Discussed in Chapter 2.

⁵ C. Thomas and B. Watson with a contribution from J. Bowsher, 'The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London: An Archaeological Review', in N. Rogers, ed., *The Friars in Medieval Britain* (Donington, 2010), 265-297 at 273; S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers* (London, 1999), 34.

⁶ See Chapter 2.

⁷ E.B.S. Shepherd, 'The Church of the Friars Minor in London', *Archaeological Journal*, 59 (1902), 239-287.

visitations made by the heralds. And although the heralds visited the Grey Friars as well, they only recorded 120 tombs and were obviously selective.

Table 2: A breakdown of burials and tombs in the Grey Friars of London based on the burial entries in the *Register*.⁸

	pre 1349	1350- 99	1400- 49	1450- 99	1500- 40	No date	Total
Clergy	7	7	16	29	30	46	135
Gentry	4	4	15	47	25	28	123
Londoners	6	2	12	32	41	27	120
Knights	3	9	8	11	6	40	77
Royalty and nobility	9	7	5	13	7	14	55
Aliens	5	7	2	3		14	31
Unknown	4	1	4	28	22	84	143
	38	37	62	163	131	253	684

Table 2 shows the popularity of burial within the Friars Minor of London by social category. These categories will be used as sub-headings in the discussion which follows. Many of the entries in the burial list are not dated: it is likely that the date on the inscription had become worn by the time the list was composed. We know from several of Charles Kingsford's corrections that some dates were copied down in error: for example, the *Register* gave 1444 as the date of death for Walter Malet, canon of St Paul's and rector of St Mary le Bow.⁹ He did in fact die forty years earlier in 1404.¹⁰ Table 2 also shows that there were a number of tombs which cannot be dated. It is likely that many of these do in fact relate to the fourteenth century. In his edition of the *Register*, Kingsford was able to identify some entries

⁸ *Grey Friars Register*.

⁹ *Ibid*, 82.

¹⁰ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/2A ff. 52v-53r.

through the use of the other records such as the *Calendar of Papal Registers* which he used to identify Margery Romsey, maid of honour to Queen Isabella.¹¹ We therefore know that Romsey died after 1347 (unfortunately no will has survived for her). Kingsford also used wills in the Court of Hustings and from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury to identify many entries in the Grey Friars burial list. The burial for Alice, wife of Geoffrey Tablecter alias Wichingham, mercer, was recorded in the Ambulatory but her date of death was not recorded.¹² However, Geoffrey died in 1349 by which date Alice was evidently dead as he made no bequests to her in his will.¹³ The use of this secondary material by Kingsford has been invaluable but because he did not use the wills proved in the Commissary court, these have now also been checked to identify any other formerly undated burials in the Grey Friars.¹⁴ This exercise has successfully categorized twenty-two further entries such as, for example, Joan Newmarch whose burial entry was recorded in the Chapel of All Hallows when she was described as a maid to Isabel, countess of Warwick. Joan's will reveals that she died in 1453 when probate was granted.¹⁵

Table 2 also shows that there were 294 burials recorded in the Grey Friars after 1450. It is important to distinguish the two important reasons for this evidence of commemoration in the Grey Friars. Firstly, the compiler of the burial list was

¹¹ Margery Romsey received an annuity of £10 in 1347, *Grey Friars Register*, 78 fn. 2.

¹² *Grey Friars Register*, 101.

¹³ HW, i, 586. Wichingham was a former mayor and alderman and one of the 'notable' victims during the Black Death epidemic which swept across London, B. Sloane, *The Black Death in London* (Stroud, 2011), 66. It is not known where Wichingham was buried.

¹⁴ The Archdeacons and Consistory wills have also been checked but there are no wills for burials recorded at the London Grey Friars in their indexes.

¹⁵ *Grey Friars Register* 77; LMA MS 9171/5 f. 110r-110v in which she asked to be buried in the Chapel of All Hallows at the Grey Friars but did not make any request for a tomb.

working backwards, that is those inscriptions for recent burials would have been easier to read than those from the fourteenth century. We cannot be precise on how many of the un-dateable entries related to the fourteenth century but it is unlikely that the Grey Friars was less popular in the fourteenth century than it was in the fifteenth century and in the period leading up to the Reformation. The second point relates to the gradual reduction in the cost of monuments and especially brasses. The use of flat, floor monuments within the Franciscan church suggests the evident popularity of brasses. By the second half of the fifteenth century these were readily available in the London workshops and were affordable to a much larger clientele.¹⁶

The Franciscans and their Brasses

One of the distinctive features of the burial list for the London Grey Friars is the large number of tombs which were recorded for the clergy, and especially for the friars. In total there were 135 monuments listed for the clergy of which, just over 100 were for a friar or brother of the house. It is not surprising that the compiler of the *Register*, himself almost certainly a member of the order, should record his dead spiritual brothers. But by the time the burial list was made in the 1520s, it seems that many of the earlier tombs had become worn because the scribe did not record many dates of death. Of those recorded, forty-six cannot be dated: in the cloister, for example, the burial list recorded thirty-three monuments and of these,

¹⁶ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), 52-53; R.H. D'Elboux, 'Testamentary Brasses', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 29 (1949), 183-191.

twenty-three (70%) were for friars.¹⁷ Half of these were undated and the other half were from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The cloister was a popular burial site for the friars and of the twenty-three monuments noted for the Franciscans, all but one was described as 'lapide'. The Greyfriars liked to be commemorated with brasses and incised slabs. In general, very little is known about memorials for friars because of the destruction of their houses during the Reformation;¹⁸ the record made of these Franciscan tombs in London is therefore an important insight into their commemorative patterns.

The earliest known clerical memorial from the Grey Friars was not, in fact, recorded in the burial list. The indent, showing the outline of a lost brass to Philip de Srepham, a monk of Ely, has been dated to about 1300, **figure 6.2**.¹⁹ Nothing is known about him and his monument was perhaps lost during the building activity of the early fourteenth century because it is not recorded in the list of burials.

The heart tomb of John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1292) is the very first entry in the Grey Friars burial lists.²⁰ It was in the 'sacrario' behind the High Altar and was probably placed there during the rebuilding of the choir in the early years of the fourteenth century.²¹ Pecham, who was a Franciscan, had wished to be buried in the London house but he was instead buried at Canterbury

¹⁷ *Grey Friars Register*, 128-130.

¹⁸ A rare (albeit cut) incised slab for Nicholas Guitelli (d. 1494), Minster General of France, survives and is on display in Musée des Beaux Arts Troyes (Aube). I thank Paul Cockerham for this reference.

¹⁹ Thomas, Watson and Bowsher, 'The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London', 273.

²⁰ *Grey Friars Register*, 70.

²¹ Discussed below.

where his tomb survives.²² His request for his heart to be buried in the Franciscan church in Newgate was, however, fulfilled although the *Register* does not describe the appearance of his heart tomb. Other monuments for the clergy were recorded in the years which followed such as, for example, those for Thomas Kenyngham (d.c. 1306), rector of Swanton Morley (Norfolk) and Peter de Bologna (d. 1331), an Italian Franciscan, bishop of Corbavia in Hungary and suffragan in the dioceses of Canterbury, Winchester and London.²³ Kenyngham's tomb was described as a 'lapide' and it may have been similar to the brass of Brother Stephen of Ely. Kenyngham was buried in the Ambulatory. De Bologna, on the other hand, was buried 'in archu australi', in an arch within the south wall of the choir, and de Bologna has the distinction of being the earliest known Franciscan whose burial was recorded as a 'frater' in the Grey Friars list.

In total there were fourteen monuments recorded for the clergy from the fourteenth century and of these at least seven are known to have been Franciscans.²⁴ Of the clergy buried towards the end of the century, all were Greyfriars.²⁵ Friar Richard Waltham (d. 1375) was buried under a 'lapide' in the Chapel of St Mary and his brother friars, William Denham (d. about 1380) and John

²² For Pecham, see *ODNB* entry by Benjamin Thompson, 43, 362-368.

²³ *Grey Friars Register*, 102 (Kenyngham) and 72 (de Bologna).

²⁴ Ibid, 102, Thomas Kenyngham, rector of Swanton Morley (Norfolk) (d. about 1306); Ibid, 72, Peter de Bologna, bishop of Corbavia (d. 1331); Ibid, 79, John Vye, confessor to Queen Isabella (d. c. 1340); Ibid, 73, Bernard de Sistre (Chester), archdeacon of Canterbury and papal nuncio 1342-43 (d. after 1343); Ibid, 75, Robert Lambourn, confessor to Queen Isabella (d. after 1343); Ibid, 104, John Kynman, Rector of All Hallows the Great (d. 1352); Ibid, 72, Roger Conway, 22nd Provincial (d. c. 1360); Ibid, 82, Richard de Haversham, advocate at the Court of Arches, canon of Llandaff, Salisbury and Wolverhampton (d. 1369); Ibid, 85, Richard Waltham (d. 1375); Ibid, 72, Robert Wycett, 24th Provincial (d. c. 1380); Ibid, 79, William Denham (d. c. 1380); Ibid, 79, John Romsey, regent master at the Oxford Grey Friars (d. after 1389).

²⁵ Ibid, 85, Richard Waltham (d. 1375); Ibid, 79, William Denham (d. about 1380); Ibid, 72, Robert Wycett (d. about 1380); Ibid, 79 John Romsey (d. after 1389).

Romsey (d. 1372), who seem to have been buried in the same grave or very close to each other, were interred in the Chapel of All Hallows.²⁶ Robert Wycett (d. about 1380), the twenty-fourth Provincial, was buried in the choir.

Of the eighty-nine dateable monuments recorded for the clergy, forty-five of them (50%) were from the fifteenth century. This partly reflects how much easier it was to read these inscriptions. Some of these clerical tombs were for city clergy, such as Thomas Fovent, chaplain (d. 1406) who was buried in the Chapel of St Francis, and Nicholas Rawdon a minor canon of St Paul's (d. 1479);²⁷ others were for members of the clergy who apparently died while visiting the metropolis. The *Register*, for example, recorded the 'magno lapide' of William Batux or Batisford (d. 1430), clerk of Balsham (Cambridgeshire) set in the nave of the Grey Friars.²⁸ One of the Chaplains from St George's, Windsor (Berkshire), Thomas Gossep (d. 1479) was buried in the south aisle.²⁹ However, the London Franciscans also seems to have been a popular place of burial for those clergy with royal appointments; for example, the 'longo lapide' of John de Tibbay (d. 1414), the murdered archdeacon of Huntingdon and chancellor to Queen Joan, was recorded in the Chapel of St Mary.³⁰ And the Grey Friars contained other instances of royal clergy who were buried in the Grey Friars: John Allen (d. 1463) was Master of the Chapel to John,

²⁶ For Romsey see, A.B. Emden, ed., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), iii, 1558.

²⁷ *Grey Friars Register*, 96 (Fovent) and 102 (Rawdon). For Fovent, see C. Oliver, 'New light on the life and manuscripts of a political pamphleteer: Thomas Fovent', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), 60-68.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 113.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 126.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 81. Tibbay was murdered by John Nixander during the struggle to control the Scrope estate, for which Tibbay was executor to Richard (d. 1403) and Roger Scrope (d. 1403).

duke of Bedford and John Kyrre (d. 1474) was confessor to Edward IV.³¹ Kyrre was also a Franciscan and former Guardian of the London house.

Yet, most of the clerical monuments in the Grey Friars were for the members of their order: there were at least twenty three tombs for them in the fifteenth century. It seems that some, such as Walter Hilton (d. 1454), never held any senior position within the Franciscan order while others, such as Thomas Wynchelsey, doctor of theology (d. 1436), who persuaded Richard Whittington to pay for the building of the library, and William Goddard, (d. 1485), Provincial Minister, were important members of their order.³² All three were buried under flat memorials ('lapide'); Hilton in the north walk, Wynchelsey in the Chapel of St Mary and Goddard in the choir. How friars came to afford funerary monuments is not clear but given that much of the rebuilding work had been completed by the fifteenth century, the funding for tombs perhaps came from the general fund based on alms and bequests in wills for testators.³³ In the case of Wynchesley and Goddard this would probably have been quite acceptable as they were evidently respected men who had played a significant role in the Franciscan Order and who seem to have been personally known to particular testators: Goddard, for example, received a bequest of 40s. from the draper and alderman, John Norman in 1468.³⁴

³¹ Ibid, 78 (Allen) and 79 (Kyrre)

³² Ibid, 133 (Hilton), 81 (Wynchelsey) and 72 (Goddard).

³³ Alms giving to the friars remained constant during the fifteenth century with no noticeable lapses, see J.A.F. Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 16 (1965), 178-195 at 189-191. Parents, siblings and cousins, especially for friars who were younger sons of armigerous families, may also have paid for a memorial for their dead kinsman.

³⁴ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/5 ff. 192r-193r.

It has also recently been argued that some friars received a salaried income which may also explain how they came to afford memorials.³⁵

Of these 135 burials and monuments, sixty-eight were recorded as either 'lapide' or 'plano' on the Convent floor. There are no wills to describe what the friars may have wanted for their tomb (assuming they had any influence over it) and it is possible that the commission was carried out by the brethren. Monuments for the clergy were important because they did not leave any immediate family to take care of their intercessory requirements. Nothing has been yet discovered by way of a palimpsest showing a reused brass from the London Grey Friars but examples from elsewhere show evidence of this practice. At St Mary's, Denham (Buckinghamshire), for instance, there is a brass for a friar, thought to be Master John Pyke (d.c. 1440), on the reverse of the plate for Amphyllis daughter of Sir Edward Pekham (d. 1545).³⁶ The palimpsest also contains part of the inscription for Pyke.³⁷ In Halvergate (Norfolk) the brass of Alice, wife of Robert Swane (d. 1540), is a palimpsest formerly of 'frater Willms Jernemu (Yarmouth) of c. 1440'.³⁸ There is little evidence of the use of incised slabs in England but enough survive from the Continent to show that friars were commemorated in this way across the

³⁵ M. Jurkowski, 'Were Friars paid Salaries?: Evidence from Clerical Taxation Records', paper presented at the 15th Century Conference, Christ Church, Oxford, 6 September 2013.

³⁶ John Pyke may be the man of the same name who was schoolmaster at St Martin le Grand and who was dead by 1435, A.F. Sutton, 'The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre of London: The Search for Patronage, Liturgical Improvement, and a School, under Master John Neel, 1420-63', in C. Burgess and M. Heale, eds, *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008), 199-229 at 220.

³⁷ W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), 55 (illustrated, 58).

³⁸ W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Norfolk* (forthcoming).

Channel.³⁹ The *Register* suggests that Franciscans in London were likewise attracted by flat lying memorials and while it would be too far to say they were addicted to them, it was probably the cheaper cost of production and proximity to the St Paul's workshop that led to so many being placed over their graves in the London convent.

The Tombs for Gentlemen, Lawyers and Royal Servants

Gentlemen and gentlewomen were buried in the London Grey Friars. Londoners sometimes aspired to gentry status and some, such as the goldsmith Robert Cartleage (d. before 1486) were described as a 'generosus' on their tombs.⁴⁰ These, where known, have been excluded from this section and are discussed in 'Londoners and the Grey Friars' (below). Soldiers, and especially men at arms, who were described as 'esquire' have likewise been excluded from this section and are discussed with their masters, the knightly class.

There were 123 recorded tombs for this group of gentry burials. The majority of them, ninety-five entries, can be dated either by their date of death or through other, usually, testamentary evidence. There are few entries dated to the fourteenth century. However, eight of them could be read or perhaps the scribe tried harder as four of them were for royal servants associated with their Grey

³⁹ F.A.Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs: A Study of Engraved Stone Memorials in Latin Christendom, c. 1100 to c. 1700*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), i, 100-101. See also the incised slab of Nicholas Guitelli, footnote 18 of this chapter.

⁴⁰ *Grey Friars Register*, 114.

Friars patron, Queen Isabella: her nurse Typhania (her surname was not recorded), (d.c. 1340), Joan Purle, gentlewoman to the queen who also died about 1340, and Margery Romsey (d. after 1347), a maid of honour to Isabella and who was buried in the same place as her son, John.⁴¹ William Galyes, esquire to Queen Isabella was buried with his son Robert in the Ambulatory after 1347.⁴² The Ambulatory was also the resting place for nurse Typhania and Joan Purle which suggests that this may have been a deliberate place of burial for members of the queen's staff. The Romseys, however, were buried in the choir probably at Margery's request. We know from the description of the tombs that these were 'lapide' or 'plano' and therefore flat lying memorials. There were no other known tombs for members of the royal household recorded in the Grey Friars and this suggests that it was the queen's personal association with the Franciscan order which led her staff to choose burial in the queen's foundation. It is noteworthy that two of Isabella's confessors, John Vye (d.c. 1340) and John Lambourne (d. after 1343) were themselves buried in the Friars Minor (although as Franciscans themselves this made it an obvious choice). It is entirely possible that the queen may have commissioned these tombs and pre-empted the strategy used by her great-grandson, Richard II, when he used the royal prerogative to arrange the burials and brasses of his courtiers in Westminster Abbey.⁴³

Alongside royal staff there were others of gentry status: the lawyers. There is little evidence of their burials occurring before the mid-fifteenth century. It is

⁴¹ Ibid, 100 (Typhania), 104 (Purle) and 78 (Romsey).

⁴² Ibid, 100-101.

⁴³ N. Saul, 'The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey', *TMBS*, 15:1 (1992), 19-32.

possible that this reflects the nature of the records and that earlier examples had not survived, or could not be read. The institutional history of the Inns of Court begins in the first half of the fifteenth century and this coincides with the earliest recorded tomb at Grey Friars for a lawyer, John Wigmore, in 1454 who was described as an 'esquire' of Gray's Inn and was buried in the Ambulatory under a flat memorial with his son Robert.⁴⁴ In his will, Wigmore asked for burial in the Grey Friars of London but did not leave any testamentary instructions about a tomb.⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that he is the only member of this Inn recorded as 'esquire' which was presumably taken from the inscription: in all of the other entries the lawyers are referred to as gentlemen. It was not until fifteen years later that a tomb for another lawyer was recorded in the burial list: John Baldwin, a fellow of Gray's Inn and common sergeant of London, was interred in the Chapel of St Francis under a 'lapide' in 1469.⁴⁶ Unlike Wigmore, he was more specific in his will and asked to be buried in the Chapel of St Francis (which was fulfilled) although he too did not specify the nature of his monument. It is the description from the *Register* which tells us that he too had a monumental brass over his grave.

⁴⁴ C.M. Barron with P. Hunting and J. Roscoe, *The Parish of St Andrew Holborn* (London, 1979), chapter 3 'The lawyers and their Inns', esp. 16-21; *Grey Friars Register*, 102. Wigmore was a retainer of Richard, duke of York, see J.H. Baker, *The Men of Court 1440 to 1550: A Prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the Courts of Law*, 2 vols. (London, 2012), ii, 1716. There is some confusion on who this tomb was for as the inscription given by the burial list of 1504 was wrong. Kingsford corrects it to 1454, when Wigmore's will was proved, but Baker gave it as 1540. It is unlikely a tomb of this date was recorded by the Franciscans given the surrender of the convent in 1538.

⁴⁵ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/4 ff. 5r-5v.

⁴⁶ *Grey Friars Register*, 93. Baldwin was common sergeant of London, 1463-69.

In total there were nine lawyers from Gray's Inn whose burials were recorded in the Grey Friars.⁴⁷ There is no obvious burial pattern for these lawyers and they were buried in several different places within the Franciscan convent. John Baldwin was buried in the Chapel of St Francis and John Rycheman (d. ?1516) in the nave⁴⁸, John Moyle (d. 1495) with his wife Anne were buried before the altars placed against the Rood at the eastern end of the nave, as were his contemporaries John Browne (d. 1498) and John Bramre (d. 1498).⁴⁹ John Wigmore and William Hayes (d. 1530) were both buried in the Ambulatory.⁵⁰ All of them were commemorated by floor monuments apart from Browne and Bramre whose tombs were not described in the *Register*. With the exception of Baldwin and Hayes, none of these lawyers left a surviving will and it is therefore not possible to ascertain their commemorative intentions. But Hayes, like Baldwin, gave precise instructions on the site of his grave which was to be in the London Grey Friars between the choir and the nave that is in the Ambulatory, if he died in London.⁵¹ And like Baldwin he did not make any provision for a tomb: it was either already made or set out in a contract or at the discretion of his executors.

A striking characteristic of tombs for lawyers is their reuse of other monuments which is not as noticeable elsewhere. The burial list suggests that the tombs for Edward Hall, John Browne, John Bramre and William Hayes were

⁴⁷ Ibid, 102, John Wigmore (d. 1454); Ibid, 114, John Baldwin (d. 1469); Ibid, 120, Edward Hall (d. 1470); Ibid, 125, Henry Reston (d. 1485) and his wife Emma; Ibid, 106, John Moyle (d. 1495) and his wife Anne; Ibid, 109, John Browne (d. 1498); Ibid, 109, John Bramre (d. 1498); Ibid, 116, John Rycheman (d. 1516?); Ibid, 102, William Hayes (d. 1530).

⁴⁸ Ibid, 114 (Baldwin) and 116 (Rycheman).

⁴⁹ Ibid, 106 (Moyle) and 109 (Browne and Bramre).

⁵⁰ Ibid, 102.

⁵¹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/23 ff. 200v-201r.

included on other, earlier graves. The case for Hall is, as Kingsford suggests, problematic as his burial entry may have been a retrospective entry made at the time that his grandson and namesake was writing his histories.⁵² Yet the others seem to show the pressure on space which was felt in certain locations within this London house. John Browne, who had died in 1498, was buried in the same grave as Sir Hugh Pearsall, sheriff of Stafford, who had only died eight years earlier.⁵³ Browne's will has not survived so we do not know if he had a particular friendship or association with Sir Hugh. But a similar reuse of grave space is observed when William Hayes (d. 1530) was buried in the same place as Christopher Whittington who had died twenty years earlier.⁵⁴ Hayes was buried in the Ambulatory, as he had requested in his will, but this does not mention any connection or relationship to Whittington. Burial space was becoming an issue in this convent.

Londoners and the Grey Friars

Right from the first arrival of friars in London in the late summer of 1224, they were enthusiastically welcomed by Londoners. One of their earliest benefactors was John Travers, sheriff, from whom they rented their first property in Cornhill. Within a year their numbers had grown to such an extent, that new premises were needed and another Londoner, the mercer John Iwyn provided property in Newgate on the

⁵² *Grey Friars Register*, 120, fn. 2.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 109. There is no obvious link with Pearsall or Stafford in the account of Browne in, Baker, *The Men of Court*, ii, 381.

⁵⁴ *Grey Friars Register*, 102. Whittington was possibly a son of John Whittington (d.c. 1525) a member of the Inns of Court of Pauntley (Gloucestershire) whose father, William, another lawyer, was buried in the Chapel of St Mary's in the London Grey Friars in 1470, Baker, *The Men of Court*, ii, 1667. For the burial of William Whittington, Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, 86.

main thoroughfare from the west end of the city. Londoners helped the Greyfriars to settle in the city and throughout the thirteenth century they gave gifts and became generous supporters of the Franciscans' London house. Their largesse was impressive. William Joyner, mayor in 1239, provided £200 to build a chapel; Walter Potter, alderman and sheriff in 1269 and 1272, financed the building of the Chapter House and also provided various brass vessels for the kitchen and infirmary; Henry le Waleys, mayor in 1274 paid for the nave of the first church; and Gregory de Rokesey, eight times mayor of London, built the dormitory and furnished it.⁵⁵ The emphasis is on gift-giving from wealthy Londoners and who had frequently served in civic office as mayor, sheriff or alderman. The Franciscans would also have received daily anonymous alms and, given that the friars stayed in London, citizens of all levels of wealth, and irrespective of status, enthusiastically supported them and enjoyed their presence. In a recent study on the mendicant orders of Bristol in the fifteenth century, the point has been made that simply by remaining in the city meant that the friars were welcome.⁵⁶ The same was the case in London.

In spite of their generosity there were hardly any monuments recorded for Londoners at the Grey Friars before the end of the fourteenth century. But this was

⁵⁵ Barron and Davies, 122-127 at 123; J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221-1539* (Münster, 2004), 43-51; J. Röhrkasten, 'The Origins and Early Development of the London Mendicant Houses' in T.R.Slater and G. Rosser, eds, *The Church in the Medieval Town* (Aldershot, 1998), 76-99.

⁵⁶ C. Burgess, 'Friars and the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol: Observations and Possibilities' in N. Rogers, ed., *The Friars in Medieval Britain* (Donington, 2010), 73-96. For the importance of local communities and the co-operation of urban authorities see J. Röhrkasten, 'Local Ties and International Connections of the London Mendicants' in J. Sarnowsky, ed., *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1999), 145-183.

probably because much of the earlier church had been rebuilt following Queen Margaret's re-foundation in 1306 (discussed below) and which would have destroyed earlier tombs, such as that for Bernat de Jambe and the monk Philip de Srepham. A popular form of monument in the thirteenth century was the cross slab and later, towards the end of the century, incised slabs and effigies developed as alternative types of funerary monument.⁵⁷ But effigies were largely commissioned by the upper clergy who could afford them and it is possible that many earlier slabs, being flat, were destroyed during the rebuilding process carried out at the Grey Friars.

There are in fact only two recorded monuments from the thirteenth century and both of them were for benefactors. A tomb for Henry Frowyk, former sheriff (d. 1286), was recorded for him and his wife Isabella in the north aisle of the nave where their son, Reginald (d. 1300), was later buried and commemorated.⁵⁸ Frowyk senior had been one of a group of generous backers who had contributed towards the cost of the friars water system.⁵⁹ A second monument was also recorded for Gregory de Rokesley, former mayor (d. 1291), in the choir which had presumably either been transferred to the new building or was commissioned retrospectively several years after his death and his financing of the friars' dormitory.⁶⁰ Another benefactor, the alderman Sir Bartholomew de Castro (d.

⁵⁷ N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 37.

⁵⁸ *Grey Friars Register*, 122. The choice of burial location for successive generations of the Frowyk family is discussed in Jessica Freeman, 'The Commemorative Strategies of the Frowyks of London and Middlesex, *TMBS* (forthcoming).

⁵⁹ *Grey Friars Register*, 48.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 73.

before 1311) who had paid for the building of the refectory and was buried in the Chapel of St Mary 'iuxta muram [chori] sub lapide', near the wall of the choir under a stone.⁶¹ It is likely that flat monuments were the normal form of funerary commemoration for these early London burials in the Grey Friars. But it is also possible that Londoners may have chosen an alternative form of remembrance in the Grey Friars. The *Register* records a group of wealthy citizens paying towards the glazing of the convent during the fourteenth century, such as Richard Betuyne, mayor in 1326 (d. 1341) and his wife Margaret, and William Albion, a fellmonger (d. 1348).⁶² Whether or not these windows contained commemorative inscriptions and donor images of the benefactors is unknown but this may also account for fewer tomb monuments since the windows acted as an alternative form of memorial.⁶³

There were no further monuments recorded for any Londoners until 1374 when Joan, first wife of the mercer and former mayor, Sir John Philipot (d. 1384), was buried in the Chapel of the Apostles.⁶⁴ In his will, Sir John chose to be buried with her and their tomb is referred to in the *Register* as a 'magno lapide', a large stone, which perhaps contained brass effigies of them. The *Register* also records that Joan's son, Master John Saunford was buried in the same place: he was a canon of St Paul's, Wells and Beverley and served Queen Philippa. The last reference to him is in 1369 and it is possible that he died shortly afterwards.⁶⁵ In

⁶¹ Ibid, 85 footnote 6.

⁶² Ibid, 166; discussed in Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 433-434.

⁶³ N. Rogers, 'The Lost Heraldic Glass of the London Grey Friars', paper presented to the Heraldry Society, Society of Antiquaries, London, on 18 April 2012. For the use of glazing as a means of commemoration in the parish church see Chapter 4.

⁶⁴ *Grey Friars Register*, 90-91.

⁶⁵ Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, iii, 1645.

which case, it was Saunford's burial in the Grey Friars which led his mother, Joan to choose this London convent for her own grave. This in turn led Philipot to choose to be buried next to her in this house. The only other tomb recorded for a Londoner at the Grey Friars in the late fourteenth century, was for Sir Nicholas Brembre (ex. 1388) merchant, former mayor and advisor to Richard II, who was in fact buried next to Philipot, his associate and brother-in-law.⁶⁶ Brembre, like Philipot, was a former mayor and office holder and represented an earlier tradition of burial of civic dignitaries in the Friars Minor. However, neither appeared to have been significant benefactors (unlike their predecessors) and it seems that there was a different motivation for their burial in the Franciscan convent. It was kinship which influenced their burial choice. This in turn seems to have influenced the burial spot for Margaret Nelond (d. 1438), Philipot's daughter and widow of Thomas Seyntclere (d. 1428) and John Nelond (d. 1437), she was buried near to her father's grave in the Chapel of the Apostles.⁶⁷ There were no other burials for elite Londoners, who had served as an alderman, mayor or sheriff, mentioned in the *Register* until Sir Stephen Jennings (d. 1523) whose sculptured effigy was recorded in the Chapel of St Francis.⁶⁸

Yet throughout the fifteenth century the Grey Friars proved a popular place of burial for prosperous London craftsmen and traders. This is also reflected in the

⁶⁶ Andrew Prescott, 'Brembre, Sir Nicholas (d. 1388)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3312>, accessed 20 Dec 2013].

⁶⁷ *Grey Friars Register*, 89.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 94.

gifts from Londoners which the Grey Friars received.⁶⁹ There were forty-four burials recorded in the *Register* for affluent tradesmen and their wives during the fifteenth century. A greater interest in burial in the Grey Friars developed from 1410 when a tomb was recorded for the haberdasher Thomas Comton (d. 1410) and his wife Joan (who seems to have outlived him as her date of death was not recorded from the inscription). In the same year, Thomas Vyaunde, a grocer (d. 1410), was also buried in the Friars Minor followed a year later by John Martin, goldsmith (d. 1411), and also Joan (d. 1413) the wife of Thomas Bennett, a merchant of the staple of Calais.⁷⁰ Of these only the will of John Martin has survived but he had asked to be buried next to the tomb of Isabel, the wife of John Lenham, another goldsmith, in the Lady Chapel at St Edmund Lombard Street, where Martin was a parishioner.⁷¹ Lenham was appointed Martin's executor and either carried out later, verbal instructions made by Martin, or felt it was inappropriate for his fellow goldsmith to be buried next to Lenham's wife. Whatever the reason, Martin was buried instead in the Grey Friars. All of these monuments are described as 'lapide' which means that because they were flat they were likely to have been incised slabs or monumental brasses. There was no obvious burial pattern: Comton was buried in the north aisle, Vyaunde in the Chapel of All Hallows, Martin in the nave and Bennett in the Chapel of St Francis. Without their wills, it is difficult to say with any accuracy why they were buried in these places other than personal devotion to particular saints, images, altars or lights. There was plenty of available grave space

⁶⁹ Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 462-463.

⁷⁰ *Grey Friars Register*, 121 (Comton); *Ibid*, 78 (Vyaunde); *Ibid*, 116 (Martin); *Ibid*, 97 (Bennett).

⁷¹ LMA, MS 9171/2 f. 211v.

and the diversity of location suggests that the Greyfriars did not restrict where the laity were buried. They welcomed them willingly.

Following these commemorative commissions during the 1410s, there were a further seven tombs for Londoners included in the burial list up until 1450.⁷² Most of these were recorded in the nave or the south aisle although one, for the draper John Wyatt (d. 1448) and his wife Margaret was listed in the Chapel of St Mary. In 70% of these cases the type of funerary monument was referred as a 'lapide' again suggesting that these Londoners continued to choose incised slabs or brasses when they came to select their tomb.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the number of tombs for Londoners multiplied. There was a steady increase in the number of monuments after 1450: there were five tombs in the 1450s,⁷³ seven in the 1460s,⁷⁴ four during the 1470s,⁷⁵ seven in the 1480s⁷⁶ and another seven in the 1490s.⁷⁷ This steady

⁷² *Grey Friars Register*, 115, John Ireby, curtman (d. 1422); Ibid, 115, John Bassett, brewer (d.1424) and his wife Joan; Ibid, 124, Thomas Berow, vintner (d. 1433) and his wife Alice; Ibid, 91, Margaret daughter of Sir John Philipot and widow of John Neyband (d.1438), Ibid, 126, John Barrey alias Markeby, skinner (d.1439); Ibid, 126 Richard Keystrym, referred as a 'citizen of London' (d. 1440) and his two wives Agnes and Alice; Ibid, 84, John Wyatt, draper (d. 1448) and his wife Margaret.

⁷³ Ibid, 84, Thomas Brittell, mercer (d. 1450); Ibid, 111-112 Robert Finch, pastry cook (d. 1455) and his wife Joan; Ibid, 98, Mary wife of Thomas Frauncys (d. 1457); Ibid, 99 John Bannand, cofferer (d. 1457) and his wife Agnes; Ibid, 119, Walter Potter, goldsmith (d. 1459) and his wife Agnes.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 120, John Wythewal, 'whytbaker' (d. 1460) and his wife Joan; Ibid, 121, Richard Walter, ironmonger (d. 1460) and his wives Cecily and Alice; Ibid, 107, John Wetwang, brewer (d. 1463) and wife Alice; Ibid, 85, John Strete, goldsmith (d. 1463) and his two wives Joan and Joan; Ibid, 114, Peter Huske, painter (d. 1463) and his wife Cecily; Ibid, 119, John Green, butcher (d. 1463) and his wives Agnes and Agnes; Ibid, 122, Richard Emmyley, cellarer (d. 1466) and his wife Agnes.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 125, William Rotheley, goldsmith (d. 1470); Ibid, 120, William Dabeney, public notary (d.1471) and his wife Margaret; Ibid, 122, Richard Lodgeman, fletcher (d.1476) and his wives Margaret, Agnes and Joan; Ibid, 127, Laurence Wilkinson, vintner (d. 1479).

⁷⁶ Ibid, 114-115, Thomas Egletone, stationer (d. 1485) and his wives Margaret and Margaret; Ibid, 120, William Gee, draper (d. 1485) and his wife Joan; Ibid, 114, Robert Cartleage, goldsmith (d.c.

increase was maintained in to the decades leading up to the dissolution with a further eleven in the 1500s⁷⁸, thirteen (the peak) in the 1510s⁷⁹ and eleven in the 1520s⁸⁰. It is striking that in the decades immediately preceding the Reformation, the Grey Friars continued to attract London burials although this was also nearer in date to the compilation of the *Register*. There were only further four tombs recorded after 1530,⁸¹ either later interments were not recorded or there was unease felt by Londoners on the future of the Grey Friars as Henry VIII's conflict with Rome escalated.

1486) and his wife Emmote; Ibid, 123, Thomas Donton, pewterer (d. 1486) and his wife Joan; Ibid, 126, William Marriott, tailor (d. 1487); Ibid, 112, John Atwood, grocer (d. 1487) and his wives Agnes, Margaret and Edith; Ibid, 111, John Arrow, vintner (d. 1489).

⁷⁷ Ibid, 84-85; Roger Spencer, goldsmith (d. 1491) and his wife Margaret; Ibid, 112, James Walker, barber (d.1491); Ibid, 127, John Webbeley, brewer (d. 1492); Ibid, 119, John Arnald, brewer (d. 1492); Ibid, 112, John Revers, skinner (d. 1494); Ibid, 87, John Fowler, fellmonger (d. 1494) and his wife Alice; Ibid, 118, Gilbert Bellamy, goldsmith (d. 1498) and his wife Alice.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 111, John Lee, goldsmith (d. 1500); Ibid, 111, John Lynton, tailor (d. 1500); Ibid, 111, Richard Godfrey, salter (d. 1500) and his wives Alice and Emma; Ibid, 128, John Crosse, butcher (d. 1504); Ibid, 118, Thomas Hastings, fishmonger (d. 1506) and his wife Agnes; Ibid, 116, Thomas Huddleston, haberdasher (d. 1506) and his wife Agnes; Ibid, 118, Michael Englyshe, mercer (d. 1507) and his wife Margaret; Ibid, 116, Ralph Blount, ironmonger (d. 1507); Ibid, 116, William Grene, merchant tailor (d. after 1507); Ibid, 79, Gilbert Ecclestone, goldsmith (d. 1508) and his wives Alice and Katherine; Ibid, 105, William Kebell, goldsmith (d. 1509).

⁷⁹ Ibid, 110, John Young, coppersmith (d. 1510) and his wife Margaret; Ibid, 109, Robert Almon, fishmonger (d. 1510) and his wife Alice; Ibid, 110, William Allen, mercer (d. 1510) and his wife Anne; Ibid, 110, Edward Ashley, goldsmith (d. 1510) and his wife Margaret; Ibid, 119, William Wilson, brewer (d. 1511); Ibid, 106, John Robinson (d. 1511); Ibid, 106, Thomas Glenthams, gentleman of St Sepulchre (d. 1511) and his wife Joan; Ibid, 83, John Wright, goldsmith (d. 1512); Ibid, 119, William Maryner, salter (d. 1512) and his wives Agnes and Juliana; Ibid, 120, John Horne, grocer (d. 1514) and his wife Katherine; Ibid, 115, William Briggs, ironmonger (d. 1517) and his wife Elizabeth; Ibid, 116, William Briggs, haberdasher (d. 1518) and his wife Agnes; Ibid, 121, Thomas Semar, pastry cook (d. 1519).

⁸⁰ Ibid, 117, Robert White, grocer (d. 1520) and his wife Christina; Ibid, 113, John Trezawall, tailor (d. 1520) and his wife Margaret; Ibid, 116, John Hebson, stationer (d. 1520); Ibid, 105, John Fulwood, tailor (d. 1521); Ibid, 87, Nicholas Pemberton, leatherseller (d. 1521); Ibid, 94, Sir Stephen Jennings, tailor and former mayor (d. 1523); Ibid, 81-82, Stephen Lynne, haberdasher (d. 1528); Ibid, 120, John Gylls, glazier (d. 1528); Ibid, 118, William Robinson, sadler (d. 1529) and his wives Katherine and Joan; Ibid, 114, William Lego, barber (d. 1529); Ibid, 113, Thomas Roose, surgeon (d. 1529).

⁸¹ Ibid, 130, Edmund Taylor, 'pursser' (d. after 1530); Ibid, 112, Joan (d. 1530), wife of John Brokenhurst, haberdasher; Ibid, 118, Ralph Hudson, goldsmith (d. 1530) and his wife Elizabeth; Ibid, 97-98, Hugh Acton, merchant tailor (d. 1530) and his wife Katherine.

The descriptions of tombs, provided by the *Register*, show the evident popularity of 'lapide' monuments and also show how Londoners adapted to new forms of design.⁸² The monument for the salter, William Maryner (d. 1512) and his wives Agnes (d. 1500) and Juliana (d. 1517) was described as a 'tumba elevata'.⁸³ This would have been a tomb chest. It was evidently very smart because this was used as the model for John Smith's tomb at the Grey Friars in Coventry which was designed by one of the St Paul's marblers.⁸⁴ A 'tumba elevata' was also recorded in the burial list for John Fulwood, tailor (d. 1521) and it is possible that he too was influenced by the Maryner chest tomb. Unfortunately Fulwood's will has not survived. The burial list from the Grey Friars also listed the 'tumba elevata' of the wealthy merchant taylor and former mayor, Sir Stephen Jennings (d. 1523). Sir Stephen is distinguished by being the first London office holder whose tomb was recorded in the Franciscan convent since 1388. And in his case we know from a drawing made by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms, that the chest tomb also contained a carved effigy of Sir Stephen, recumbent, and at prayer, set on top of it **figure 6.3**.⁸⁵ It also seems that the tomb was painted.

The lack of burials recorded for office holders for almost a century and a half is puzzling. Apart from the building of their library by Richard Whittington, completed in 1425, there was less support from London's ruling class for the Grey

⁸² B. Cherry, 'Some New Types of Late Medieval Tombs in the London Area', in L. Grant, ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London* (London 1990), 140-154.

⁸³ *Grey Friars Register*, 119. This is discussed further in, C. Steer, 'lyke to A tombe at the Greyfreres of London: Burial and Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London' in N. Holder, *The Medieval Friaries of London* (forthcoming).

⁸⁴ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/13, ff. 47v-48v. Smith died in 1500 which shows that the Maryner was already set up and that this had presumably been done following the death of Agnes, also in 1500.

⁸⁵ BL. Add. MS 45131, f. 86r.

Friars in the fifteenth century. It is possible that the friars' interference in political affairs contributed to this and discouraged the civic elite from burial there.⁸⁶ But it seems more likely that there were by now other places where the super-wealthy could spend their money: an analysis of the rebuilding of London's parish churches has shown that 42% of the city churches were rebuilt or had undergone major rebuilding work during the fifteenth century.⁸⁷ It was in their parish church that commemorative strategies could develop. It has also been shown that elsewhere in London enterprising men such as John Neel, master of the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre 1420-63, encouraged donations and payments to his fund raising activities which in turn led more Londoners to choose burial in the hospital.⁸⁸ By the early sixteenth century Londoners undertook a renewed interest in the Franciscan convent in Newgate with a strengthening of ties between the Greyfriars and the elite. From 1514, for example, the mayor and alderman took part in the procession on St Francis Day and in 1518 the city corporately contributed money to the Grey Friars to pay for the cost of paving the nave.⁸⁹ The influence of the Greyfriars Provincial, Henry Standish who stood well at Court during the 1510s, may have contributed to this improved relationship between the London house and the civic authorities.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Barron and Davies, 125; Röhrkasten, 'Local Ties and International Connections', 161-167.

⁸⁷ J. Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: a Review', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 45 (1994), 23-146. Discussed in Chapter 4.

⁸⁸ A.F. Sutton, 'The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre of London: The Search for Patronage, Liturgical Improvement, and a School, under Master John Neel, 1420-63' in C. Burgess and M. Heale, eds, *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008), 199-229. Discussed in Chapter 8.

⁸⁹ Barron and Davies, 126.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 126.

The last reference to a Londoner's tomb, that of the merchant taylor Hugh Acton and his wife Katherine occurs in 1530. He wished to be buried in the Chapel of St Francis. It is worth noting that right up until the end, the burial instructions from Londoners who requested interment in the Grey Friars, were being fulfilled. In the case of Acton he had already arranged for his memorial in the chapel:

And my body to be buried in the Chapel of saint ffraunces
withyn the churche of the graye ffreres in London before the
pyctour of saint Mary Magdaleyn standing in the south Ile of the
quere of the same churche where as I have made a memory.⁹¹

To be buried in the Grey Friars remained important to many Londoners until the eve of the Reformation.

Knights, Squires and Men at Arms: Military Monuments

Military mobility during the fourteenth and fifteen century apparently led many soldiers to choose burial in a London convent.⁹² For the Grey Friars, there were seventy-seven tombs recorded of knights, squires, men at arms and, sometimes for their widows. But many of the entries did not include their date of death. They were probably older, worn and difficult to read. There are also very few surviving wills from the fourteenth century for these military knights, but other records suggest that some of them had been buried during the re-building work of the early fourteenth century.

⁹¹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/23 ff. 204v-206r; *Grey Friars Register*, 97-98.

⁹² Steer, 'lyke to A tombe at the Greyfreres of London' (forthcoming).

One of these was the tomb of Sir Henry de Enfield (d. 1310) recorded in the nave.⁹³ He was a retainer of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford (d. 1298) and his country estate was located in Essex. Another member of the de Enfield family, Sir Bartholomew (d. after 1319) was retained by de Bohun's son and successor, another Humphrey (d. 1322) and he was buried alongside his kinsman. Unfortunately neither of these tombs was described but given their location in the nave it is unlikely that they would have been effigial: such tombs would have got in the way. They were, perhaps, incised slabs. But it is not until the second half of the fourteenth century that these knightly tombs can be described more precisely. One such example was the monument recorded in the nave for Sir Andrew Sackville (d. 1369) located near to the Enfield tombs.⁹⁴ He had evidently died while away from his Sussex estates on a visit to London. So too had Sir Peter de Montfort from Beaudesert (Warwickshire) (d.c. 1369) whose floor monument was noted in the burial list.⁹⁵ In the fourteenth century, the Grey Friars had clearly become a convenient place of burial for knights who had died in London while away from their manor.

The *Register* also recorded the burials of many of those associated with the royal circle: Sir John Sully, knighted at Calais in 1347 and made a Knight of the

⁹³ *Grey Friars Register*, 127-128, n.3; Sir Henry's date of death is cited in, G.A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility*, (Cambridge, 1957), 73.

⁹⁴ *Grey Friars Register*, 127-128, n.3. For the Sackville of Sussex family see the *ODNB* entry by Nigel Saul, 48, 528.

⁹⁵ *Grey Friars Register*, 73. His family is discussed in the *ODNB* entry for the Mountford family by Christine Carpenter, 39, 560-562.

Garter in 1361 (d. 1381x88) was buried before the altar of St Mary;⁹⁶ Sir John Deyncourt (d. 1393), steward to John of Gaunt, was also buried there;⁹⁷ and Sir John Devereux (d. 1393), soldier and royal councilor and, like Sully, a Knight of the Garter, was buried in the choir together with his wife, Margaret (d. 1398).⁹⁸ Unlike the other knightly tombs, which were flat, Devereux's was recorded as a 'tumba elevata'. The *Register* included more information on Sir John and Lady Devereux, taken from the inscription, than that which had been included for the earlier knightly tombs. This recorded Devereux's status as 'steward to the king' (Richard II) and for Margaret it recorded her as 'formerly Lady Beaumont and daughter of the earl of Oxford'. This suggests that Lady Devereux may have commissioned the tomb herself and used the opportunity to record her own status. She was the widow of both Henry, Lord Beaumont (d. 1369), and of Sir Nicholas Loveyn (d. 1375) but she seems to have air brushed her marriage to Sir Nicholas from the inscription. Her lineage and status as the daughter of John de Vere, earl of Oxford (d. 1360) was more important. The description of their tomb as a 'tumba elevata' may refer to sculptured effigies for Sir John and Lady Devereux and were similar, perhaps from the same workshop, as the monument for Sir Nicholas Loveyn, Lady Devereux's former husband, at the Abbey of St Mary Graces.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ *Grey Friars Register*, 107. Sir John was thought to have been 106 years old at the time of his death but such a remarkable age is not recorded on the Grey Friars tomb. A second monument, an effigy of him and of his wife Isabel, has survives on a tomb chest in the parish church at Crediton (Devon), M. Downing, *Military Effigies of England and Wales: Devon-Essex* (Shrewsbury, 2011), 12. The church web page contains a proud account of this ancient warrior and his military prowess in old age, <http://www.creditonparishchurch.org.uk/Sully.html>, accessed 14 January 2013.

⁹⁷ *Grey Friars Register*, 106.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106. Only the will of Sir John Devereux has survived, TNA: PRO, PROB 11/1 ff. 18r-19v; see also the entry by Carole Rawcliffe, *ODNB*, 15, 94

⁹⁹ A contract survives for Sir Nicholas' tomb, J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, Marbler of London, and a Tomb Contract of 1376', *Antiquaries Journal*, 60 (1980), 66-74, esp. 68-69. This contract is printed, with an updated commentary, in S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, "Cest Endenture Fair Parente":

Other members of the royal household were also buried in the Grey Friars amongst whom were a number of men described as 'esquire'. One of the earliest known squires was William Galyes (d. after 1347) a member of Queen Isabella's household. He was buried in the Ambulatory alongside his son Robert underneath a floor monument to them both.¹⁰⁰ There are seventeen tombs of esquires which are undated and many of these may be of the fourteenth century. The *Register* contains a number of tombs which can be dated to the second half of the century, and so the number of royal servants buried in the Grey Friars becomes clearer. Geoffrey Pomferet, for example, a sergeant at arms to Edward III, was buried in the Chapel of the Apostles. His date of death was not recorded but his record of service to King Edward suggests the period in which he died, c. 1380.¹⁰¹ Neither was the death date for Richard Fylongley, esquire of Edward, Prince of Wales ('the Black Prince') recorded, although other records show that he served as a surveyor of royal manors and was on various commissions between 1378 and 1392, suggesting that he died shortly afterwards.¹⁰² It is notable that Fylongley died around the same time as Sir John Devereux in 1393: like Sir John, Fylongley's widow Margaret Paris was also buried in the same grave and recorded on his monument. By the end of the fourteenth century, the widows of dead knights and men at arms had begun to share their husbands' graves in London.

English Tomb Contracts of the Long Fourteenth Century' in S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, eds, *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010), 187-236 at 193-197.

¹⁰⁰ *Grey Friars Register*, 100-101.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 92.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 84.

Military mobility during the Wars of the Roses seems to have led other royal esquires be buried in the Grey Friars. The *Register* recorded several Yorkist men, such as Thomas a Parr and John Mylwater, esquires of Richard, duke of Gloucester, who were killed at Barnet on Easter Sunday 1471. They were buried in the same grave in the Chapel of St Francis.¹⁰³ An esquire of George, duke of Clarence, Thomas Burdett was executed in 1477 and his remains were buried in the Chapel of All Hallows perhaps at the instance of Friar William Goddard who had intervened on his behalf.¹⁰⁴ Men at arms who served, Edward IV, also came to be buried in the Friars Minor as, for example, William Byrde (d. 1480) described as esquire to Edward IV and who was buried in the nave, and Thurstan Hatfield, sergeant to the Crown under Edward IV (d. 1491).¹⁰⁵ It was Hatfield's particular loyalty to another prominent Yorkist, Walter Blount, first Lord Mountjoy which led to his burial in the Chapel of the Apostles. In his will he requested:

And my body tobe buried in the Church of the grey fryres in the
Citie of London that ys to wite in the Chapell there where as the
body of the olde lord Mongey lyeth buried.¹⁰⁶

In spite of this apparent popularity for burial of men at arms in the Grey Friars, there were hardly any knightly burials and tombs from the end of the

¹⁰³ Ibid, 94.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 78. Burdett was one of the conspirators allegedly involved in the intended murder of Edward IV, see M. Hicks, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence: George, Duke of Clarence 1449-78* (2nd edition, Bangor, 1992), 119-123.

¹⁰⁵ *Grey Friars Register*, 115 (Byrde) and 91 (Hatfield).

¹⁰⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/9 ff. 231v-232r. Walter Blount (d. 1474) was the first lord Mountjoy and was succeeded by his grandson Edward who died a minor in 1475. His uncle, Sir John, the third lord Mountjoy himself died in 1485 and was succeed by his seven year old son, William. It is taken that the reference to the 'olde lord' was to Walter. The Chapel of the Apostles served as a mausoleum for members of the Blount family where the first three lords Mountjoy were buried and commemorated.

fifteenth century. Many, of course, were buried in family mausoleums and in their parish churches. The only significant numbers of knights in the Franciscan convent in London were for members of the Blount family, elevated to the peerage in 1465, and discussed below.

Commemoration for the Royal Family and Aristocracy

The earliest record of a royal tomb, was of Beatrice, duchess of Brittany (d. 1275), and daughter of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence. She was buried 'in archu boriali', that is in the northern arch, of the choir.¹⁰⁷ The text of the *Register* referred to her status as daughter of King Henry III and his wife Eleanor and then as the wife of John, duke of Brittany, which was presumably copied directly from the inscription on the tomb. The *Register* does not record the type of monument but if it was in an arch it was likely to have been an effigy of the dead duchess or perhaps a semi-relief effigy. It would seem unlikely that a princess of England and duchess of Brittany would be commemorated merely by a cross slab and it was too early for the use of a monumental brass.¹⁰⁸ In the same arch was the heart tomb for her mother Queen Eleanor (d. 1291). This is also not described but a comparable heart tomb for her daughter-in-law, Queen Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290), was commissioned at the London Black Friars and this consisted of a small casket held by a golden angel and surrounded by elaborate paint or enamel.¹⁰⁹ Given that both

¹⁰⁷ *Grey Friars Register*, 71.

¹⁰⁸ Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 37.

¹⁰⁹ R. A. Brown, H.M. Colvin and A.J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, 2 vols. (London, 1963), i, 482-483.

queens died within a year of each other it is possible that their respective heart tombs were of a similar design and made at about the same time.

However, since the choir was not built until after 1306, it seems likely that these royal tombs had been moved or, given their prominent location, re-commissioned during the construction work. It has been suggested that Beatrice's son, John, duke of Brittany (d. 1334), was influenced by Queen Margaret and that he became another donor and benefactor for her re-foundation project at the Grey Friars.¹¹⁰ The duke paid for a window on the north side of the church, gave liturgical vestments, tapestries and a gold chalice together with £300 towards the building costs. A natural benefit of this generous gift-giving would inevitably have been the opportunity to commission a retrospective, or better designed, tomb for his mother. This was placed to the left of Queen Margaret's own monument in the most prestigious burial place of all before the High Altar. In this it is unlikely that King Edward would have objected to his mother's heart tomb being moved or re-commissioned at the same time. Beatrice's son was himself buried in the Franciscan convent at Nantes.

Without doubt the re-foundation of the London Grey Friars by Queen Margaret (d. 1318), the second wife of Edward I, provoked a resurgence of popularity for the friars during the fourteenth century and not just among

¹¹⁰ Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 395.

Londoners.¹¹¹ During the 1290s, the queen had purchased property with which to extend the church but her first building project was the construction of a Chapel of St Louis, begun in 1301, in honour of her devout grandfather who had been canonized four years earlier. It is thought that this chapel was at the southern side of the nave at the eastern end.¹¹² Building accounts from about 1305 survive which record £36 17s 9d was spent on this chapel at which point it was completed.¹¹³ One year later, in 1306, a foundation stone was laid on Queen Margaret's behalf for a much larger building enterprise, the construction of the choir to which the queen gave 2,000 marks. This was incomplete at the time of her death in 1318 but this did not prevent her burial before the High Altar and the commissioning of her tomb (which may have been made during her life time while the choir was being built). The *Register* does not describe the type of tomb but it does record her family and matrimonial relationships which, like that of Beatrice of Brittany and Queen Eleanor, must have been copied from her inscription. The queen was described as the daughter of Philip, himself the son of St Louis King of France, and then as the second wife of Edward I. It seems likely that Queen Margaret influenced the text of her inscription and chose deliberately to place her natal descent first before her marriage to King Edward. It is also noteworthy that she wanted her descent from a saint, her grandfather St Louis, included and visible to all who read it. The inscription also recorded the queen as the first founder of the new church and gave

¹¹¹ C. Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540' in C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), 117-142.

¹¹² Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 49-50.

¹¹³ *Grey Friars Register*, Appendix I, 202-203.

her date of death, 14 February 1317 (1318).¹¹⁴ It seems that this tomb contained an effigy of the queen which was set on a tomb chest. In his account, Stow referred to nine alabaster tombs in the choir which were surrounded by iron railings and it therefore also seems likely that Queen Margaret's tomb may have been fenced off.¹¹⁵

Royal patronage continued after the death of Queen Margaret and Queen Isabella, her successor and also her niece, had a particular devotion to the Franciscan order with further property purchased on the queen's behalf for their London house. She, like her aunt, chose to be buried in the choir of the Grey Friars. The *Register* also recorded the burial of her husband's heart in the same tomb.¹¹⁶ Given their matrimonial complexities this seems unusual but this may indicate an act of penance on the queen's part or, perhaps, an intended act of reconciliation orchestrated by their son, Edward III. The description of her tomb is much clearer in the *Register* than that of her aunt Queen Margaret: it was described as a 'tumba elevate de alabastro' and this was without doubt a sculptured alabaster effigy of the queen. Her household accounts shed some further light on the commissioning of the monument which began immediately after her death. Two payments totaling £106 18s 11d were made to the workshop of Agnes de Ramsay, daughter of the royal mason, William de Ramsay (d. 1349). An iron grill which surrounded the tomb was constructed by Andrew Faber who was

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 70-71.

¹¹⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 322. We know that railings were erected around the tomb of Queen Isabella, see below.

¹¹⁶ *Grey Friars Register*, 74.

paid £110 for this and the masonry work was carried out by Robert de Burton who was paid £10. These payments had been settled by February 1359.¹¹⁷ Rather than acting as a barrier these railings may have had a functional use where candles could be placed during the obsequies.¹¹⁸ This too seems to have been another of the nine alabaster tombs, surrounded by iron railings, which Stow referred to.

These royal queens were buried in the Grey Friars for three reasons. Firstly as founders and benefactors the Franciscan convent was a natural resting place for them. It was also a practical place because the tombs for Edward I and his first wife Eleanor of Castile were already in place in Westminster Abbey; likewise there was no space for Isabella to join the remains of Edward II and be buried in his tomb, even if she had wanted this. There may also have been a third reason: there was an earlier tradition within the French royal household for French queens to be buried in the 'Cordeliers', the Franciscan convent, in Paris rather than with their husbands at St Denis. This was particularly so at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁹ It may be for this reason that Queen Isabella's daughter, Joan of the Tower, Queen of Scotland (d. 1362), and her granddaughter, Isabella de Coucy, countess of Bedford (d. 1379), were also buried alongside Edward II's queen in the

¹¹⁷ M. Robson, 'Queen Isabella (c. 1295/1358) and the Greyfriars: an Example of Royal Patronage Based on her Accounts for 1357/1358', *Franciscan Studies*, 65 (2007), 325-348; F.D. Blackley, 'The Tomb of Isabella of France, wife of Edward II of England', *International Society for the Study of Church Monuments*, Bulletin 8 (1983), 161-164.

¹¹⁸ I am grateful to John McNeil for this observation. For the use of iron railings at the tomb see, J. Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (London, 1999), 240-256.

¹¹⁹ M. Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 168.

Grey Friars.¹²⁰ Queens Margaret and Isabella appear to have brought French customs to bear on royal burials in London.

Cadet members of the royal family were evidently influenced by these royal women and likewise became patrons and benefactors of the Franciscan order in London. The children of Queen Margaret's step-daughter, Joan of Acre, countess of Gloucester (d. 1307) were significant donors; Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester (d. 1314)¹²¹ gave £50 together with twenty large beams for the church and paid for the window on the north side of the nave; his sisters Eleanor Despencer (d. 1337), Margaret, countess of Cornwall (d. 1342) and Elizabeth de Burgh, countess of Ulster (d. 1360) contributed to the furnishings of the convent.¹²² These royal grandchildren were not the only junior members of the royal family to provide funds and gifts during the fourteenth century. Another royal grand-child of Edward I, Margaret of Brotherton, duchess of Norfolk (d. 1399) also had a particular devotion to the Franciscans and her confessor, William Woodford, was of their order. In 1380 she gave 350 marks to pay for choir stalls in their London house.¹²³ And like her grandmother and namesake, Queen Margaret, and also her kinswoman Queen Isabella, she too chose to be buried in Grey Friars where she was commemorated by a tomb. It is also possible that this dowager influenced the exhumation of her grandson, John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, who was killed in a tournament at Woodstock in 1389 and who was originally buried next to his father in the Black

¹²⁰ *Grey Friars Register*, 74-75.

¹²¹ The young earl was brought up in Queen Margaret's household and it may have been for this reason that he became a benefactor of the Grey Friars, a tradition carried on by his sisters and heiresses, Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 393-394.

¹²² Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 394.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 396.

Friars at Hereford. The London Grey Friars claimed the body of the young earl and it was only after the intervention of the king that Pembroke was reburied in the Franciscan house.¹²⁴ It may be a coincidence that his 'tumba elevata' perhaps containing his sculptured effigy, came to rest next to the monument of his grandmother, the duchess Margaret, in the choir.¹²⁵ She is thought to have been a formidable personality during her lifetime, aware of her royal lineage, and it would probably have been characteristic of her to interfere with the burial arrangements of her grandson – and heir – and make sure he was close to her in death and buried next to her in a mendicant house to which she was evidently attached.¹²⁶

Where the royalty led the aristocracy followed. Many were encouraged to become donors and to give financial assistance towards the rebuilding programmes carried out during the fourteenth century. Robert de Lisle, Lord Rougemont, a veteran of the early campaigns in the Hundred Years War, was an incredibly devout and generous supporter who gave £300 towards the construction of the church. He later became a friar and was buried in the choir in 1343. His contemporary, John, Lord Cobham (d. 1355), was another benefactor and gave the east window in the south aisle of the church. His burial was recorded at the eastern end of the nave before the altars.¹²⁷ Another aristocratic benefactor, Mary de St Pol, countess of Pembroke (d. 1375), paid for another window and also gave a

¹²⁴ Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration', 133.

¹²⁵ *Grey Friars Register*, 71-72.

¹²⁶ See *ODNB* entry for the duchess by Rowena E. Archer, 7, 961-962. The dowager was clearly an influential woman with enormous capabilities.

¹²⁷ This suggests that the surviving brass to him at St Mary Magdalene, Cobham (Kent), was not a grave monument but was instead part of a broader commemorative set celebrating the lineage of the Lords Cobham. For the Cobham family and their brasses see, N. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001).

cash gift of £70.¹²⁸ The countess may have been influenced by the earlier benefactions given by her uncle, John of Brittany. Unlike Lords Rougemont and Cobham she was not buried in the Grey Friars and instead chose to be buried in her foundation of Denny (Cambridgeshire). Her gifts to the London Grey Friars were part of a larger display of donations to religious institutions reflecting the countess' wealth and philanthropy.

There were very few noble burials in the Grey Friars in the second half of the fourteenth century; the tombs of Margaret of Brotherton and her grandson, the earl of Pembroke, were exceptions. Later, in 1423, Elizabeth, wife of John Neville the son and heir of Ralph, earl of Westmoreland, was buried in the choir.¹²⁹ This was not an unexpected choice because Westmoreland Place, the Neville's town house, was nearby. But it is a rare instance of aristocratic burial recorded in the Grey Friars during the early fifteenth century and no doubt reflected nothing more than convenience following Lady Neville's unexpected death while visiting London.

There was a change in aristocratic burial practice in the late fifteenth century with the creation of a family mausoleum in the Chapel of the Apostles for the lords Mountjoy and members of their Blount family, **figure 6.4**.¹³⁰ This contained the 'magna tumba elevate de alabastro' for Walter, first Lord Mountjoy (d. 1474) whose tomb was recorded in the *Register* together with a lengthy account of his life and

¹²⁸ Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 396-397.

¹²⁹ *Grey Friars Register*, 75.

¹³⁰ Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration', 137-141.

achievements.¹³¹ In his will, Lord Mountjoy referred to his monument which was already in place. He also requested that the body of his son and heir, Sir William Blount who had been killed at Barnet in 1471, should be exhumed and buried with in his tomb.¹³² This does not seem to have been fulfilled because a separate tomb was recorded for Sir William in the burial list (it is possible that it may have been left empty after Sir William's exhumation).¹³³ Other members of the Blount family were interred in this chapel: Edward, second Lord Mountjoy (d. 1475), his uncles John, the third Lord Mountjoy (d. 1485) and Sir James Blount (d. 1493), an aunt Elizabeth, wife of Sir Robert Curson (d. 1494), and his cousins, Anne and Sir Roland Blount. It was the brother of Sir Roland, William, fourth Lord Mountjoy (d. 1534) who took a particular interest in the family mausoleum at the Grey Friars and who arranged for a series of new tombs to be commissioned and set up for his family. It is rare to find such detailed testamentary provision concerning family tombs:

Item forasmoche as I have bene negligente in making of suche tombes and leying of stones upon certen of my frendis departid as I shuld have doone I will if it be goddes pleasure that I departe at London that ther by the discreciene of myne executors ther maye be a stone or a tombe set over the Lady Dorothe Lady Alis and me if so be the saide Lady Dorothe be so content ther to lie or els the tombe to be made for me and Lady Alis aforsaide

Item that where it is so that John Blonte knyght late Lorde Mountjoye my late father whose soule god pardone lyethe buried in the chapell within the grey friers in London upon the

¹³¹ An error was made and his death was recorded in 1479 and not 1474: the year had evidently become faded by the 1520s. *Grey Friars Register*, 88.

¹³² TNA PRO, PROB 11/6 ff. 131v-134r.

¹³³ *Grey Friars Register*, 89.

southe side of the same chapell hathe no convenyente [tomb] over hym And that my Lady mother liethe at the newe Abbey [St Mary Graces] with Sir Thomas Monggomery hir laste husbonde, I wolde if my will wolde bere it, that ther were a better ffacioned tombe made either of Alabaster of marble and ii portratures the one for my Lorde my ffather the other for my brother Sir Rowlande with scripture about the tombe

Item for as moche as henry keble whose doughter I married lyeth in Aldermayr chirche in London and no stone over hym And was a speciall benefactor to the buylding of the same chirche to the some of two thousand pounds and above I will and desire myn executors that ther maie be a convenyent stone layde over hym with a scripture upon it expressinge hys good mynde towards the same chirche

Item that where the Lady Elizabethe my firste wife mother unto my Lady Marques of exceter liethe buried in the parishe chirche of Essenden in the Countie of hertford and no stone upon hir ffor asmoche as hir ffather Sir William Saie promised at sondery tymes to have removed hir and did not I wolde ther were a fair large and a convenyent stone with scripture upon it layed over hir.¹³⁴

These instructions contained arrangements whereby Lord Mountjoy arranged for a retrospective stone over the grave of his first wife, Elizabeth (d. 1506) at St Mary's, Essendon (Hertfordshire).¹³⁵ Curiously he made no mention of a memorial for his second wife, Agnes de Vanegas, a Lady in Waiting to Queen Katherine of Aragon (d. 1514), and it is not known where she was buried. Mountjoy's third wife, Alice (d. 1521) was to be included on the same tomb with William and his fourth wife, Dorothy (d. 1553), if he died in London. His widow Dorothy could choose to be excluded, if she wished. It is striking when the will claims that his father, John Lord

¹³⁴ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/25 ff. 243r-243v. In his will of 1531, Sir William Say arranged his own monumental brass over his grave in the parish church of St Augustine, Broxbourne (Hertfordshire) but did not provide any instructions on a specific brass to his daughter, Elizabeth, Mountjoy's first wife, TNA:PRO, PROB 11/24 ff. 44r-45r.

¹³⁵ For the commemoration to the Say family see, Sally Badham 'Patterns of Patronage: Brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier Kinship Group', *TMBS*, 17:5 (2007), 423-452.

Mountjoy, did not have a 'convenyente' tomb. But given that an earlier monument was recorded in the burial list, this probably means that it was not befitting his station and that something larger and better was required. The fourth lord requested that this new tomb should be commissioned and made of either alabaster or marble and that it should contain two 'portratures' one for his father, John, and the second for his brother Roland (who was also buried in the Grey Friars and whose tomb was recorded in the *Register*). This suggests that he wanted two male effigies, probably shown as knights, father and son, to lie side by side in the Chapel of the Apostles in their memory. Lord Mountjoy also arranged tombs for other members of his family who were not buried at the Grey Friars. One of these was for his father-in-law, Henry Keble (d. 1516) a grocer and former mayor of London who was buried in the parish church of St Mary Aldermary. Mountjoy requested that a stone be laid over his grave and that the inscription should refer to Keble's generosity to St Mary Aldermary, having given over £2000 to the rebuilding of this parish church.¹³⁶ Lord Mountjoy died at Sutton-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire) where he was buried. There is no record of any tomb.¹³⁷

The Blounts were "new nobility" and they evidently sought the benefits not only of burial within this Franciscan house but also the association with the older and established noble families who were themselves buried there. The Chapel of the Apostles was an important burial site being immediately to the south of the

¹³⁶ A tomb for Keble was carried out, Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 253.

¹³⁷ If he died in Derbyshire or Staffordshire, Mountjoy asked to be buried at Barton Blount (Derbyshire) where he was born and where he had already chosen his gravesite on the south side of the High Altar. Mountjoy had also entered in to an agreement with Richard Parker, alablasterman of Burton-upon-Trent, concerning the design of his tomb. It is not known whether this was ever commissioned or where it was placed.

High Altar. From the survey carried out by E. B. S. Shepherd in 1902, it is clear that by the 1520s there were a number of empty grave sites within this chapel.¹³⁸ Given that there were only a handful of non-Blount family burials in the chapel after the 1470s, this suggests that the family may have been active in keeping non-Blounts out.¹³⁹ They were mindful of the need to have decent monuments and the fourth lord went to some lengths to detail what he required in fulfillment of earlier testamentary requests and to enhance his own lineage.

The Grave Monuments for Aliens

The Grey Friars was also the grave site of a number of aliens who had died when visiting London from overseas. For some, such as John duke of Bourbon (d. 1434), it was an enforced visit as he was a prisoner of war awaiting ransom at the time of his death;¹⁴⁰ others were foreign nationals in the service of the Crown; there were also merchants, especially the Italians, who died while visiting London on business and sought burial within the church of the Friars Minor. But like many of the other interments in the Grey Friars, several entries are not dated in the burial list. It is likely that some were royal servants from overseas, for example, Sir John Claron, described as a knight from France, was probably Sir John Claroun, steward of the

¹³⁸ Shepherd, 'The Church of the Friars Minor in London'.

¹³⁹ After their appropriation of the chapel, there were only four non-Blount burials in this chapel, namely for the respected friars William Goddard (d. 1485) and Robert Brayns (d. 1492); Thurstan Hatfield (d. 1491), sergeant to Edward IV and who possibly served with the Blounts; and Robert Bradbury (d. 1500), esquire, of Littlebury (Essex).

¹⁴⁰ *Grey Friars Register*, 75.

household to Edward, earl of Chester (the future Edward III).¹⁴¹ A large stone was recorded as Sir John's monument at the entrance to the choir; it is perhaps not surprising that the date of death had become worn away by the time the burial list was written.¹⁴²

Italians were by far the largest group of aliens to be buried in the Grey Friars mainly in the fourteenth century. One of the earliest was the Florentine merchant Maners Francisci, thought to be Manentus Fransisci, purveyor for Edward III in 1333-34, who died in 1342.¹⁴³ A large stone monument was placed over his grave in the Chapel of the Apostles. In the fourteenth century, it was almost exclusively merchants from Florence who were buried in the Friars Minor. There were nine recorded monuments and of them, four were noted in the Ambulatory, Dinus Forcinetti (d. about 1349) a Florentine of the Bardi Company, Simon Guyden (d. 1356) of Florence who served as a sergeant of arms to Edward III, Philip Bardi (d. 1362), master of the Company, and John Donati Baldwin (d. 1369) a merchant of Florence.¹⁴⁴ There was a cluster of tombs in the Ambulatory where Forcinetti, Bardi and Baldwin were joined by Peter Pronan de Carignano, on whom nothing further is known, and Beatrix Bardi (d. 1392), wife of Gautroun Bardi who has been master of the moneys at the Tower of London in 1363.¹⁴⁵ All of them were recorded beneath flat grave monuments. Guyden, on the other hand, was amongst the household servants of Queen Isabella (discussed above) also in the Ambulatory.

¹⁴¹ W.M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (London, 2011), 23. I am grateful to Rob Kinsey for alerting me to this reference.

¹⁴² *Grey Friars Register*, 75.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 92.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 100 (Guyden) and 103 (Forcinetti, Bardi and Baldwin).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 103.

Trusted household retainers seem to have been buried near each other, irrespective of nationality.

There were few alien burials in the Grey Friars during the fifteenth or the early part of the sixteenth century which can accurately be dated. Apart from the duke of Bourbon, there were tombs for a Venetian merchant called Peter de Balby (d. 1430) recorded in the Chapel of St Francis;¹⁴⁶ this was also the grave site for another Florentine, Gerald Danyzys who was buried here in 1457.¹⁴⁷ Lupus Roderys (d. 1475) a lord from Spain, was interred in the Chapel of St Mary.¹⁴⁸ An Irishman completed this international mix of alien nationals when Peter Travers, described as a gentleman of Ireland, was buried in the south aisle in 1526.¹⁴⁹

Since there were no alien family plots or mausoleums it is unlikely that those aliens who were buried and commemorated in the London Grey Friars were part of any established community, or mercantile dynasty settled in London. They were passing through and had not become parishioners. Their need for noticeable tombs would have been greater since they had no family nearby to come and say prayers for their souls. Like the clergy they had to make sure they were remembered and that their tombs were seen. Their location in a prominent, and visible, part of the convent was as close as they could get to the intercessory power of the High Altar.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 97. For Peter de Balby see, H.L. Bradley, 'Italian Merchants in London', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (1992), 76.

¹⁴⁷ *Grey Friars Register*, 98.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 81.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 125.

Conclusion

The list of burials in the Grey Friars which was made in the 1520s has shown the magnificence of the commemorative landscape of this London house. It was packed full of monuments for all levels of medieval society and maintained its popularity as a place of burial and commemoration, albeit for different groups at different times, throughout the convent's history. But the uniqueness of this burial list cannot be over-estimated: there is nothing comparable for the other mendicant houses of London. An examination of this list shows how popular flat monuments were: over half of those which were recorded were brasses or incised slabs. Those of 'middling status' seem to have been particularly attracted to this form of monument although it is striking that the friars themselves wanted to be remembered and prayed for just as much as the laity and undertook to ensure their own commemoration through brasses and floor slabs. But the dead also chose to use other types of monuments and the very wealthy, the royal family, nobility, knights and extremely rich Londoners, chose sculptured effigies as their memorial. These were large and from the account of Queen Isabella's tomb, expensive. Several were also enclosed by railings perhaps to use during the obsequies. The vulnerability of tomb monuments, especially those on the floor, is apparent since there are so many incomplete inscriptions, and several errors recorded in the wording copied from those inscriptions which could be read.

The London elite in the thirteenth century were clearly attracted to the Franciscan house, which they had largely funded, yet hardly any of them seem to have been buried there. The re-foundation of 1306 perhaps led to the loss of many tombs; likewise subsequent wear and tear seems to have led to further damage. The extent to which glazing was used as a means of memorialization is a tantalizing observation but it also seems that the redevelopment and rebuilding of many parish churches provided a better opportunity to be commemorated: the church, itself, became the memorial for Londoners. Yet if the civic elite and very wealthy were attracted elsewhere, the rank and file within medieval London did not abandon the Friars Minor: it took a while but the gradual trickle of rich tradesmen and their families grew during the fifteenth century and led to a flood of regular burials and tombs for Londoners and their families right up until almost the end. The aristocracy followed the interests of the royal family and also were generous donors during the fourteenth century. But from the moment the piety and intercessory strategies of the royal family began to change so too did those of the nobility. It was not until a new nobility, in the form of the Blounts, sought to associate themselves in death, as well as in life, with the old families that the Franciscan convent in Newgate became popular again with the aristocracy.

The Grey Friars, however, was not just the burial ground for the rich and famous and the *Register* shows that many 'ordinary' men and women were buried in the convent. The burials of a number of visitors to the city is distinctive: knights, squires, the country gentry and aliens all chose to be buried in the Friars Minor

rather than in one of the parish churches. But this is not really surprising because they were, as visitors, not London parishioners. The mendicant orders in medieval Europe were everywhere and so were familiar to those visiting a strange town. Their international and national status made them a natural focus for visitors. And the growing importance of their convents as a resting place for the elite naturally raised the curiosity of others who came to see these tombs.

It is very rare for those buried in the Grey Friars to have provided any testamentary instruction about their tombs. Those testators whom we know to have been buried at the London Grey Friars, did not use their wills to direct the commissioning of their tomb. They either relied upon contracts, which are now lost, or they gave verbal instructions to their executors, friends and family. The trust placed in this way in executors was profound: and since at least 684 tombs were erected over their graves, this trust was well founded.

Chapter 7: The Other Mendicant Houses

When John Stow made his list of burials and tombs from London, much was already lost.¹ Nowhere was this loss greater than in the mendicant houses where the commemoration for the dead had been almost entirely stripped out during the Reformation.² In Chapter 5 we saw that just under 700 tombs, recorded from the Franciscan house in Newgate, had been lost during the 1540s. The purpose of this chapter is to compare the patterns of burial and commemoration observed in the Grey Friars with similar strategies at the other mendicant houses in London.

Because of the unique survival of their list of burials, the Grey Friars is a special case and there is nothing comparable which has survived for the other four orders, the Black Friars, White Friars, Austin Friars and Crutched Friars. For these London houses we are reliant on the burial lists made by the heralds in the years preceding the Reformation. These lists, invaluable though they are, are almost certainly incomplete and reflect what interested them, namely the coats of arms used. The heralds were not as interested in tombs for Londoners, the clergy or for aliens as they were for knights, squires and the nobility. By way of comparison the heralds list of burials at the Grey Friars (which Stow copied) recorded a total of 120 tombs yet the Franciscan scribe listed 684 in his own account begun in the 1520s. The heralds list for the Grey Friars was therefore only one-fifth of the total number.

¹ Chapter 3.

² For the piecemeal destruction of the fabric of the friaries and their gradual conversion to secular use see, N. Holder, 'The Medieval Friaries of London: A topographical and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution', Unpublished PhD, University of London (2011), 237-255.

It would be reckless to suggest that there were five times more tombs in the other houses compared than those the heralds noted, but the point is that the heralds' lists are not a complete record and are but a snapshot of a much larger picture.

For these houses, Stow made use of an earlier list of burials made by the heralds referred in this thesis as Benolt 1 and Benolt 2.³ Benolt 2 is the fuller version but there are several entries which Stow missed or which, perhaps, were not in the copy he used. At the Black Friars, for instance, John Leynton (d. 1474), Thomas Roger (d. 1488) and Henry Ashborne (d. 1496) were omitted by Stow.⁴ All were described as esquires in Benolt 2 and were noted by John Strype when he came to publish his expanded edition of Stow's *Survey* in 1720.⁵ This College of Arms manuscript also gave the locations of a number of tombs in the Black Friars which were not of interest to Stow either: for example the monument of Margaret, countess of Kent (d. before 1259) was described by Benolt 2 as in 'the left part of the choir' which was presumably on the north wall.⁶ Stow says nothing of this tomb but Strype copied this detail from the heralds' visitation word for word into his edition of the *Survey*.⁷ Stow's bias, especially against female monuments, is well known.⁸

³ Chapter 2.

⁴ Benolt 2, f. 14v.

⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 182.

⁶ Benolt 2, f. 12v; Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 340.

⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 180.

⁸ C. Steer, 'Commemoration and Women in Medieval London', in M. Davies and A. Prescott, eds, *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron* (Donington, 2008), 230-245.

Written evidence based on the heralds' lists records a total of 324 tombs recorded from the four mendicant houses. Of these there were 119 in the Black Friars, 93 in the Austin Friars, 86 in the White Friars, and 26 in the Crutched Friars. The latter was very much the 'little brother' of London's mendicant houses with very few recorded tombs reflecting a less wealthy area and the possible loss of many tombs in the fire of 1490/91.⁹

Table 3: Burials and Tombs in the Other Mendicant Houses of London

	Black Friars	Austin Friars	White Friars	Crutched Friars	Total
Knights	29	45	28	5	107
Gentry	33	19	27	6	85
Nobility	26	17	10	4	57
Londoners	1	3	0	9	13
Aliens	3	7			10
Clergy			6	1	7
Royalty	2				2
Unknown	25	2	15	1	43
Total:	119	93	86	26	324

[This table is based on the record of burials and tombs made in Benolt 2 which was copied by Stow and Strype in their versions of the *Survey*.]

Table 3 shows the number of tombs which were recorded by the heralds from these houses. There were forty three (13%) names recorded about whom nothing further is known: the subject did not leave a will and other accounts have not revealed anything further about their craft or status. There were many at the Black Friars, for example, who were listed by their surname only which has made

⁹ C. Steer, "better in remembrance': Medieval Commemoration at the Crutched Friars, London', *CM*, 25 (2010), 36-57.

identifying them difficult; the livelihood of men such as Rodyngton, Moresby and Offman, who are recorded without Christian names, remains unknown.¹⁰ But the information concerning medieval interments for the other categories reveals some important trends.

Knights, their Families and their Monuments

In each of the three larger houses, the most numerous of monuments were those for knights, their wives and families. There were at least 107 of them across all four mendicant houses which is because of the particular interest of the heralds in these knights and their heraldic arms. This category does not include Londoners who received a knighthood in return for their service to the city: these were men who had served the Crown and who were buried in London. The Grey Friars was likewise a popular place for the interment of knights and their families but, as we have seen, many other groups were likewise buried and commemorated in the Franciscan house.¹¹

Of the four convents, the Austin Friars contained the largest number of tombs for this group; there were forty five examples recorded from their house. But the heralds list did not give the dates of death for any of these knights although some can be dated: for example, dame Joan, the wife of Sir William Daubeney

¹⁰ Benolt 2, f. 14r. All three were omitted by Stow but included by Strype.

¹¹ Chapter 6.

(d.c. 1372) was buried in the 'west wing', probably the south aisle, of the church.¹² Her date of death was not recorded but it was evidently before 1372 as her husband left a widow, Phillipa.¹³ Near her tomb was a memorial for Sir John Daubeney. His date of death was not recorded either by Stow or Strype and neither of them added any biographical information. It was the College of Arms manuscript which recorded that he was the son and heir of Sir Giles Daubeney.¹⁴ Sir John was in fact the grandson of Sir William's nephew, Sir Giles Daubeney I (d. 1386) whose family decided to bury him near the tomb of his great-great-aunt Elizabeth presumably following Sir John's unexpected death while in the city. There are occasional instances of families choosing burial close to one another elsewhere, such as the tomb of Alice Foster which was near to that of her father, Sir Stephen Popham (d. 1444), in the Carmelite choir in Fleet Street.¹⁵ But such instances seem to have been rare.

There were several knights who as patrons and benefactors of the Grey Friars had been buried and commemorated in that house.¹⁶ This was also the case in other mendicant houses where the patronage of knights led to their monument in the mendicant church. One of the most notable was Sir Robert Knolles (d. 1407)

¹² I am grateful to Nick Holder for his discussion on the probable placement of the 'east wing' and the 'west wing' described as a burial place in the Austin Friars. Given the WNW-ESE alignment of the church it is possible that a north aisle could be described as the east wing and the south aisle the west wing.

¹³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 179. For the Daubeney family see the entry by Dominic Luckett, *ODNB*, 15, 234-236.

¹⁴ Benolt 2, f. 18r.

¹⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 401. For Sir Stephen see, J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, eds, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421*, 4 vols. (Stroud, 1993), iv, 116-117.

¹⁶ Chapter 6.

who contributed generously to the White Friars during the 1390s.¹⁷ He died at his manor in Sculthorpe (Norfolk) and his body was brought to London for burial in the 'body' (the choir) of the White Friars. In 1530, the Carlisle Herald at Arms, Thomas Hawley, described Sir Robert's tomb thus:

Whereas lythe beryd Sr Robert Knolys right worschiply in the body of the Cherge, wheras he beryth upon hyme in his Cote-Armour hys Armes: that ys to say, gulys on a Chevron sylver three [roses on] Roses on the Feyld: And apone hys helme on a Wrethe gulys and sylver, a Ramse Head cupe, on the laste. And by side hyme lythe the Lady hys wyffe, both lying in Pykter of Alyblaster on a Towme of Marbyll right onerable. The said Knolles whas the joly mane of Ware in France.¹⁸

This description implies that two alabaster effigies of Sir Robert and his wife, Constance, were placed on a marble tomb chest and set over his grave which was richly decorated with Sir Robert's heraldic arms. This 'joly mane of Ware' enjoyed other forms of commemorative imagery elsewhere such as the roof boss in Norwich Cathedral; his arms were also included in St Boniface's church, Bunbury (Cheshire) on the tomb for Sir Hugh Calveley (d. 1394), with whom he had served in France and Spain.¹⁹ Sir Robert was appointed Calveley's executor and in this capacity, he may have used the opportunity to ensure that his own arms were included on the tomb for his brother in arms. Heraldic glass was also used to commemorate Sir Robert's memory with glazing schemes commissioned in the

¹⁷ Barron and Davies, 129; J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221-1539* (Münster, 2004), 404-405. For Sir Robert, see the Michael Jones entry, *ODNB*, 31, 952-957.

¹⁸ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 141.

¹⁹ N. Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England 1066-1500* (London, 2011), 286.

churches of All Saints, Sculthorpe (Norfolk), and St Lawrence, Harpley (Norfolk).²⁰

Sir Robert was preoccupied with preserving his mark on the religious buildings with which he was associated probably because he died childless and wanted to be remembered, and prayed for, by as many as possible.²¹

Not all knightly burials served as a grave for affluent sponsors and benefactors. A third group of tombs relate to the families of knights who had travelled to London but who died in the city. Dame Cradock (her first name was not recorded) who was the wife of Sir David Cradock (d.c. 1384) was buried in the Chapel of St Thomas in the Austin Friars.²² Her husband evidently died at his manor as he was buried in the parish church of St Mary in Nuneaton (Cheshire). Elsewhere Dame Sybil (d. after 1351), the first wife of Sir Roger Beauchamp (d. 1379) was buried in the choir at the Black Friars.²³ In his will, Beauchamp directed that he was also to be buried in the London Black Friars. His tomb was not noted

²⁰ It is possible that the glazing at St Lawrence, Harpley, may have been completed by Sir John Drew, chaplain to Sir Robert during his overseas campaigns who was later installed at Harpley in 1381 serving until 1421. I am grateful to Claire Daunton for her observations on this glass.

²¹ Childlessness, and the lack of a family to pray for you, was taken very seriously with various commemorative strategies set up to secure the individual's memory. This was frequently done visibly in a public space and intended to make sure that strangers and successive generations did not forget to pray for them, see for example R. Kinsey, 'The Location of Commemoration in Late Medieval England: the Case of the Thorpes of Northamptonshire' in C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), 40-57 and R. Emmerson, 'The Fourteenth-Century Tomb Effigies at Aldworth, Berkshire, and their Relationship to the Figures on the West Screen of Exeter Cathedral' in S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010), 97-113. The Thorpe family, like Sir Robert Knolles, adopted a multi-destination approach with their commemoration scattered across several churches in different counties and with their heraldry placed in almost every institution with which they were associated. Monuments for the earlier de la Beche family of Aldworth are of huge proportions and one could not help but notice these tombs which continue to dominate the relatively small parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Aldworth (Berkshire). These tombs are today referred to as 'The Giants of Aldworth' through which successive generations do indeed remember the de la Beche family, albeit for a different reason.

²² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 178.

²³ Ibid, i, 341.

by either Stow or Strype but from the account made in Benolt 2, we know that Sir Roger's testamentary wish was fulfilled and that he had a tomb over his grave.²⁴ But as well as these tombs for the wives of knights, there were also monuments for children. It is not clear whether these were infants, adolescents or young adults and the question of commemoration for children is a complex one.²⁵ But the heralds' lists suggest that the mendicant houses were also used as a place of burial for the offspring of knights as well as for their wives. In the Chapel of St John at the Austin Friars, for example, a tomb was recorded for John, the son of Sir John Wingfield, but like the other tombs from his house it is not dated in the written record. John may have been a son of either Sir John Wingfield (d. 1361) of Wingfield (Suffolk) or of Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham (Suffolk) who died in 1389. Both of these men were patrons of tombs: Sir John at Wingfield was commemorated by a recumbent effigy in the collegiate church he founded, and the grave of Sir John at Letheringham contained his brass.²⁶ Another Sir John of the Letheringham family died in 1481. Sir John (d. 1361) owned property in London and this makes it likely that the boy buried at the Austin Friars was in fact his son.²⁷ Sir Hugh Spencer chose to bury two of his children in the chapter house at the Austin Friars: his son Philip and his daughter Isabel who was referred to as

²⁴ Benolt 2, f. 13v.

²⁵ For example, S. Oosterwijk, 'A Swithe Feire Graue': the Appearance of Children on Medieval Tomb Monuments', in R. Eales and S. Tyas, eds, *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2003), 172-192.

²⁶ Jon Bayliss, 'Brass of the Month, June 2009: Sir John de Wyngefild, 1389, Letheringham, Suffolk', <http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/Brass%20of%20the%20month%20June%202009.html> accessed 26 February 2013.

²⁷ HW, ii, 48.

'dame'.²⁸ This may indicate that she was of adult age at the time of her death. No record has been found of Sir Hugh Spencer but Sir Hugh Despencer (ex. 1326), who was one of the favourites of Edward II, had two children named Philip and Isabel. Philip died aged 24 in 1313 which confirms the use of the London mendicant houses as convenient resting places for younger sons of knightly families who died away from their country estates.

Tombs for traitors were noted at the Grey Friars.²⁹ An analysis of burials for rebellious knights in the other London houses shows that the Austin Friars was the most welcoming when it came to collecting the remains of these executed men. Sir William Tyrell and Sir Thomas Tuddenham were executed for their part in the conspiracy to assassinate the newly crowned Edward IV in 1462.³⁰ Tyrell was buried in the 'west wing' (the south aisle) of the church and Tuddenham in the choir with two of their co-conspirators, John de Vere, earl of Oxford and his son Sir Aubrey.³¹ The tombs for the earl, his son and Tuddenham were listed consecutively in the College of Arms manuscript which suggests they were buried next to each other. Other members of the Tyrell family were also buried in the 'west wing' so, like the Daubeney family before them, they seem to have wanted burial in a particular place because of earlier family burials. The Tyrell family made sure that

²⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 115. Stow did not record the location of their tombs and it was Strype who copied it from the heralds list.

²⁹ Chapter 6.

³⁰ J. Ross, *John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford 1442-1513: 'The Foremost Man of the Kingdom'* (Woodbridge, 2011), 38-46 esp. 38-43; W.E. Hampton, 'Sir James Tyrell: with some notes on the Austin Friars London and those buried there' in J. Petre, ed., *Richard III: Crown and People* (Gloucester, 1985), 203-217.

³¹ Benolt 2, f. 19r (Tyrell)

their executed kinsman was included within this group of family graves.³² For Tuddenham we know that his sister, Margaret Bedingfield, arranged for a 'honest and decent' stone to be laid over his remains in the Austin Friars and it is likely that the Tyrell family did the same.³³ The use of a flat monument was practical as well as relatively inexpensive and served as a relatively inconspicuous memorial for a traitor. It is most unlikely that a sculptured effigy of the dead knight would have been commissioned.

Other burials for executed knights in the Austin Friars included Sir Thomas de la Launde (ex. 1470), Sir William Collingbourne (ex. 1483), Sir Roger Clifford (ex. 1484), Sir John Wyndham (ex. 1502) and the remains of another member of the Tyrell family, who were unfortunate in their choice of political loyalties, that of Sir James Tyrell (ex. 1502). He was executed for supporting the Yorkist claim to the throne forty years after his father was beheaded for supporting the House of Lancaster.³⁴ De la Launde was buried in the choir close to the Tuddenham grave and Collingbourne and Clifford were buried next to each other in the 'west wing' where they were later joined by Wyndham and the younger Tyrell. Perkin Warbeck was also thought to have been buried in the Austin Friars although his tomb is not recorded.

³² R. Canty and D. Griffith, 'English Patrons, French Workshops and Funerary Art in the Fifteenth century: the Incised Slabs of Alice Tyrell (d. 1422) and John Cherwin (d. 1441)', *Church Monuments* (forthcoming).

³³ BL, MS Harley 10, f. 115r.

³⁴ Benolt 2, f. 16r (de la Launde) and f. 19r (Collingbourne and Clifford). For Wyndham and Tyrell, who was buried after the College of Arms manuscript was made, see Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 179. It is not known where Stow got this information on but it is likely to have been another, now lost, heraldic manuscript; Hampton, 'Sir James Tyrell'.

There were no executed knights recorded in either the Black Friars or the White Friars and only one instance at the Crutched Friars, that of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd (ex. 1532).³⁵ Given the proximity of the Crutched Friars to Tower Green, where many unfortunates were beheaded, it seems curious that only one traitor is known to have been buried in their convent. Given its size, lack of royal patronage and relatively low-key status, it seems that the families of knightly traitors preferred somewhere better for their dead relatives. Sir Rhys' status as a troublesome Welshman, in league with the Scots, may well have influenced the choice of burial for his remains in a relatively small and out of the way London house.

The heralds' particular interest in those of armigerous status has meant that their record is rich in knightly burials and tombs from the mendicant houses of London. It also shows the popularity of the friaries for knights and their families when they died away from their estate and that wives and children were also buried in the mendicant houses.

Tombs for the Gentry and Esquires

Table 3 shows the popularity of the Austin Friars as a place of burial and commemoration for knights, their families and for their brothers in arms who were unfortunate with their political loyalties. The Black Friars and the White Friars were popular places for burials of members of the gentry and whose tombs were of special interest to the heralds. In this section, the gentry are defined as those who

³⁵ For Sir Rhys, see the entry by R.A. Griffiths in, *ODNB*, 46, 642-644.

were from the shires, who had served as courtiers and civil servants, and who described themselves either as esquire or as a gentleman. Where known, Londoners who aspired to gentle status by calling themselves 'gentleman' or 'esquire' on their tomb have been omitted and are discussed in the section on 'Londoners and their Graves'. Because the heralds' visitations did not include dates of death, not all gentry burials can accurately be dated to a particular period. Some left wills, but not all did. While there are therefore many instances of gentry tombs recorded in these two houses very little is known about them.

A good example of the complexities of identification is shown by the monument for Thomas Wydeville, esquire, which was recorded at the Black Friars. In spite of the notoriety of this family in the fifteenth century, it is not clear how he is related to them, nor when he died. The likely candidate is Thomas Wydeville of Grafton Regis (Northamptonshire), uncle to Richard (later earl Rivers) (ex. 1469).³⁶ Thomas Wydeville died in 1436x1438 and there is a brass for him and his two wives Elizabeth and Alice at St Owen's Church, Bromham (Bedfordshire). It is generally accepted that this brass is not in its original place and that neither Wydeville nor his wives were buried in Bromham. Because of a bequest Wydeville made in his will to the monastery at St James, Northampton, it has been assumed that he was buried here, but no evidence has been found to support this claim. An alternative scenario may be that he was, in fact, buried in the Black Friars and that

³⁶ I am grateful to Lynda Pidgeon for her discussion on this. See, H.K. St.J Sanderson, 'The Brasses of Bedfordshire – II', *TMBS*, 2:3 (1896), 74-90 at 81-83; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), 14-16. Thomas Wydeville had a son, also called Thomas, but it is not known whether he lived to adulthood thus earning the right to be called 'esquire' on his tomb. If he died as an adult, the London brass may represent Thomas Wydeville the son.

his brass was appropriated during the Reformation and reused by his family as their commemoration at their manor in Bromham. This brass was appropriated by Sir John Dyve (d. 1535) who adapted the effigy of Thomas to commemorate himself and the effigies of Thomas' two wives, Elizabeth and Alice, to represent Dyve's mother, Elizabeth (d. 1497) and his wife Isabel. Dyve had the original Wydeville inscription turned over and reused as a palimpsest to record himself, his wife and his mother. Apart from being a remarkable example of a cheapskate, Sir John was in fact the direct heir of Thomas Wydeville through his mother, Elizabeth, a great-grand-daughter of Elizabeth Ragon, Wydeville's younger sister. We thus have a member of the family preserving his ancestor's brass albeit through appropriation and reuse.

Removing Wydeville's brass would not be unexpected because we know of at least one other brass, also for a member of the gentry, which seems to have been removed from the Black Friars during the Reformation. In his will of 1520, Gerard Danet, gentleman, asked to be buried in the middle of the London Black Friars under an 'old stone with the ragged cross' next to the 'small stones' of his children, Thomas, Ellen, Robert and Nicholas.³⁷ There is little reason to doubt that Danet was buried near the graves of his children but in the parish church of St Mary, Tilty (Essex) a brass effigy with a marginal inscription survives for him. It seems that his widow Mary (d. 1558), who was also recorded on the inscription, arranged for the removal of the brass from the London Black Friars to the church at

³⁷ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/20 ff.7r-8v.

Tilty, the village near their Essex estate.³⁸ Archaeological surveys at the former Black Friars site in Ludgate have revealed two empty brick lined graves in the Lady Chapel and a third empty grave in the north aisle of the nave.³⁹ The removal of these bodies may represent the efforts of other families to transplant their kinsmen/women following the suppression of the Black Friars.

For the gentry and esquires who left a will, most of them date to the second half of the fifteenth century. The will of Agnes (d. 1421), the widow of William Lasynghby, chief baron of the Exchequer, is a rare example of an earlier will. She asked to be buried in the same chapel with her husband (although she did not say which chapel this was) and for five marks to be spent on a marble stone to be placed over their graves.⁴⁰ This was the standard description for a monumental brass set on a marble slab. But this tomb was not recorded in the heralds list and nor in any of the written sources. It apparently did not contain any arms which were of sufficient interest to the heralds.

But like Lasynghby, many of those buried in the Black Friars were civil servants who worked in the Chancery and at court. John Leynton (d. 1474) was described as an esquire and in his will he requested burial in the London Black Friars if he died in the city.⁴¹ A tomb was recorded for him.⁴² Leynton was one of

³⁸ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/42A ff. 125v-127v; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 2003), ii, 714 and 716.

³⁹ C. Thomas and B. Watson with a contribution from J. Bowsher, 'The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London: An Archaeological Review', in N. Rogers, ed., *The Friars in Medieval Britain* (Donington, 2010), 265-297 at 269-270.

⁴⁰ LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 92.

⁴¹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/6 ff. 138v-139r.

the executors of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, and a former auditor from the Exchequer and who presumably lived and worked near (or in) the precinct of the Black Friars. Other Exchequer employees who were buried in the Black Friars including Sir Robert Lytton of the Office of Treasurer's Remembrancer (d. 1505). A tomb for his wife, Agnes (d. 1486) was recorded in the wall of the Black Friars where Sir Robert's clerk, and kinsman, Richard Lytton (d. 1503) wished to be buried.⁴³ The Lytton tombs provide a notable case study for several reasons. Agnes, as a wife (rather than a widow), was given the unusual privilege of making a will.⁴⁴ This seems to be because she was the executor of her former husband, a Londoner, the pewterer John Paris (d. 1485), and had a number of responsibilities still to fulfill. In her will she wished to be buried with Paris in St Botolph Billingsgate but this did not happen: instead her executors, her husband Robert and daughter Agnes Paris (otherwise Lytton), buried her in the Black Friars.⁴⁵ We know this because Alice's kinsman, Richard Lytton, who seems to have had a special affection for Agnes, asked to be buried beneath her tomb in the London Black Friars where he was to have 'a smale marbell stone' set onto the wall and which was to contain a figure of the Holy Trinity with an inscription recording the testator.⁴⁶ This suggests he wanted a brass. Sir Robert, who died in 1505, made no reference to his tomb in his will although he asked to be buried in the Black

⁴² Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 182.

⁴³ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/13 ff. 214r-214v.

⁴⁴ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/7 ff. 23r-23v.

⁴⁵ In his will, Paris asked to be buried in the same grave as his first wife, another Agnes, in St Botolph Billingsgate under the stone which was already lying over her grave. But this gravestone was not recorded by any of the written sources. TNA: PRO, PROB 11/7 ff.151r-152v.

⁴⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/13 ff. 214r-214v.

Friars.⁴⁷ The heralds' burial list, made about 1505, included a reference to Sir Robert's tomb so it must have been made during his lifetime and that its heraldry was of sufficient interest to be recorded by Thomas Benolt. It is possible that it was commissioned at the same time as the one for Agnes.⁴⁸ In these cases the convent of the Dominicans came to serve as a focus for those who were employed by the Crown (especially in the Exchequer) and who seem to have found the Black Friars a natural – and convenient – place to be buried.⁴⁹ In a sense it was their parish church.

The Commemoration for Royalty and the Nobility

There were only two royal tombs recorded in the other friaries of London and both of them were at the Black Friars.⁵⁰ Unlike the Franciscan convent in Newgate, the other mendicant orders did not enjoy the same level of patronage by the royal family during their foundation and later years. Henry III had supported the Franciscans and Dominicans but paid little notice to the other friaries. He, like his son, had a special devotion to the Black Friars and used members of this order as his confessors. Edward II likewise used the Black Friars but by the time of his son

⁴⁷ TNA: PRO, PORB 11/14 ff. 274r-274v.

⁴⁸ Benolt 2., f.14v.

⁴⁹ The importance of the London Black Friars as a centre of administration is discussed in, J. Röhrkasten, 'Secular Uses of the Mendicant Priors of Medieval London' in P. Trio and M. de Smet, eds, *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns* (Leuven, 2006), 134-151.

⁵⁰ C. Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540' in Barron and Burgess, *Memory and Commemoration*, 117-142 esp. 126-127.

and successor, Edward III, the monarchy was not as attached to the London friaries as their predecessors had been.⁵¹

The royal monuments at the Black Friars were the two heart tombs of Prince Alphonso (d. 1284), son and heir of Edward I, and of his queen Eleanor, of Castile (d. 1290).⁵² Edward had re-founded the Dominican convent and it seems that in his role of founder he chose to use this house as part of the commemorative infrastructure for his dead son and his wife. The series of Eleanor crosses, where the hearse of the dead queen stopped overnight, are well known.⁵³ These were complemented by tombs for her viscera buried in Lincoln Cathedral, her heart in the Black Friars and her body in Westminster Abbey. The body of the prince was also buried in the growing royal mausoleum at Westminster Abbey. It is noteworthy that at about the same time that these royal burials were made in the Dominican house, the hearts of Edward's two young cousins, Margaret (d. 1276) and John (d. 1277), the children of William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, were also buried in the Black Friars church. The king seems to have influenced the burials of his kin, as well as his immediate family, in his new foundation during the construction process. Neither Stow nor Strype recorded the location of these graves but the College of Arms manuscript suggests that they were in the choir next to each other.⁵⁴ The only known description is of Queen Eleanor's heart tomb, a 'cista'

⁵¹ Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 340-379.

⁵² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 341.

⁵³ N. Coldstream, 'The Commissioning and Design of the Eleanor Crosses', in D. Parsons, ed., *Eleanor of Castile 1290-1990: Essays to Commemorate the 700th Anniversary of her death: 28 November 1290* (Stamford, 1991), 55-68; see also P. Lindley, 'The Sculptural Memorials of Queen Eleanor and their Context', *ibid*, 69-92.

⁵⁴ Benolt 2, f.13r.

(casket) with a golden angel holding the heart and surrounded by elaborate paint or enamel. Accounts of this heart tomb record that the casket was constructed by William de Hoo (fl. 1292-1317) and the golden angel made by Master Adam, a goldsmith. The paintwork, or enameling, was the work of Walter of Durham and Alexander of Abingdon.⁵⁵ The final composition must have been quite exquisite and an impressive work of art.

It was the interest in the re-foundation process of the Black Friars which led to royal burials and tombs in this convent. This association between benefactors and commemoration may also be observed elsewhere among the aristocracy, many of whom played an important, and influential, role in the foundation of the London houses. The first house of the London Black Friars had been built in the parish of St Andrew Holborn through the support of Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent (d. 1243) who had provided the land. He and his wife Princess Margaret of Scotland (d. 1259), were buried in the Holborn convent and were later exhumed and re-interred in the new site at Ludgate. It was as founders that they were transplanted. It is not clear whether their Ludgate tombs were brought from the Holborn site or if these were new, retrospective commissions. Their description in the College of Arms manuscripts records that the earl and countess were buried in 'the lift p[ar]te of the qwere' and that they were next to each other.⁵⁶ Near to the earl and countess was another thirteenth century tomb for Isabel, countess of Norfolk (d. after 1263) and sister of the countess of Kent. Isabel was separated

⁵⁵ R. A. Brown, H.M. Colvin and A.J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Work*, 2 vols (London, 1963), i, 482-483.

⁵⁶ Benolt 2, f.12v.

from her husband, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and it is for this reason that it may have been convenient for her to be buried with her sister rather than with her Bigod in-laws. Her tomb was recorded in the recess of the third arch of the choir and apparently close to her sister, Margaret.⁵⁷ These descriptions suggest that all three may have enjoyed sculptured effigies set within the walls of the choir.

It is curious that Sir Richard de Grey (d. after 1265) was not buried in the London White Friars which he had founded sometime before 1254. Various members of the Grey family did their best to maintain the family connection with the Carmelites and chose to be buried in their church throughout the Middle Ages: tombs were recorded for John, Lord Grey (d. 1418) son of Reginald, Lord Grey of Wilton, and also for Richard Grey, earl of Kent (d. 1524).⁵⁸ The widow of earl Richard, Margaret (d. 1540) asked to be buried in her husband's tomb in the White Friars.⁵⁹ A similar sense of lineage and ancestral association seems to have been apparent at the Austin Friars whose founder was Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford (d. 1275). He, like Sir Richard de Grey, was not buried in his new foundation but his descendant and namesake, Humphrey (d. 1361) paid for the rebuilding of the church where he chose to be buried.⁶⁰ His tomb was recorded in the middle of the choir where the younger Humphrey perhaps sought to associate himself as a re-founder of this London house.

⁵⁷ Ibid, f.12v.

⁵⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 400.

⁵⁹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/28 ff. 152r-153r.

⁶⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 178.

Aristocratic benefactors from other noble families were likewise attracted to the London mendicants and at about the same time as de Bohun paid for the rebuilding of the Austin Friars, his contemporary, Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devon (d. 1377) financed the rebuilding of the Carmelite convent.⁶¹ Yet he did not choose to be buried in the White Friars probably because he did not die in London. He was buried in Exeter Cathedral and it was members of the Courtenay family who, having apparently died in the city, were buried in 'their' mendicant house: tombs were recorded for the earl's grandson and heir Sir Hugh (d. 1374) and the earl's second son, Sir Edward, who had predeceased his father between 1364 and 1372.⁶² There were also some members of the nobility who sought to use the friaries as a mausoleum for the family. The only recorded aristocratic memorials at the Crutched Friars were for the family of Elizabeth Botiller, baroness de Wemme (d. 1411).⁶³ In her will, Lady de Wemme bequeathed £6 for the building of the cloister at the Crutched Friars.⁶⁴ this is in fact the only evidence of an aristocratic benefactor for this London house. Tombs were recorded there for her, her third husband Sir Thomas de Molington (d. 1408), her son Robert Ferers (d. 1396) and a grandson Lionel. Robert and Lionel were recorded as 'de Moligton' but this is an error because the baroness did not have any children by her third husband. It is likely that a hasty recording of the inscription led to the mistaken understanding that her son and grandson were 'de Molington' and not 'Ferers'. At her death, the baroness' co-heirs were her granddaughters, Elizabeth and Mary Ferers and it

⁶¹ Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 404-405.

⁶² Stow's *Survey* (1603), ii, 46-47

⁶³ Steer, 'better in remembrance', 36-57.

⁶⁴ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/2A ff. 178v-179r.

seems that their brother Lionel had predeceased his grandmother. In her will, Lady Wemme asked to be buried in the Lady Chapel where, it is thought, her tomb and those for her family were placed.

There was, therefore, a sense of continuity between the founder and members of their families who wished to maintain an association with the London house by being buried in it. This association they maintained by commissioning monuments for themselves and for members of their family. However, not all members of the aristocracy who were buried in a mendicant house of London did so for this reason. We have seen that the Austin Friars was a popular place for burial of executed knights. It is possible that this became the accepted place of burial for those executed following the burial in 1397 of Richard Fitz-alan, earl of Arundel, who was beheaded on the orders of Richard II.⁶⁵ His grave quickly became the scene of miracles and attracted pilgrims which promoted the popularity of the Austin Friars as pilgrimage site. Thus when John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and his son Sir Aubrey were executed in 1462, the Austin Friars was a natural place for their burial. At her death in 1473 at Stratford at Bow (Essex), the body of the countess Elizabeth was brought to the same convent where she was buried with her husband.⁶⁶ However, their bodies were later moved. In the will of the de Vere retainer, James Arblaster (d. 1492) he asked to be buried at the foot of the tomb of the current earl's parents, that is earl John and countess Elizabeth, at the Priory of Earls Colne (Essex). It is likely that the body of Sir Aubrey had also been

⁶⁵ For Lord Arundel, see the entry by Chris Given-Wilson, *ODNB*, 19, 769-772.

⁶⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 178. Stow did not record the countess' tomb which was noted in Benolt 2, f. 16r.

re-interred in the de Vere mausoleum. John de Vere, the new earl of Oxford (d. 1513) had evidently arranged for the exhumation of his parents (and brother?) from the Austin Friars in Broad Street to the family mausoleum where he also directed that new tombs should be made.⁶⁷ He does not seem to have instructed that their London tombs should be brought to Essex with their bodies because the heralds' list recorded the de Vere tombs in the Austin Friars c. 1504. At this point they were empty.⁶⁸

There were very few aristocratic tombs recorded in the London convents in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, apart from those for traitors. Other executed members of the nobility, John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester (ex. 1470) and James Tutchet, Lord Audley (ex. 1497) were buried in the Black Friars;⁶⁹ Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham (ex. 1521) was buried in the Austin Friars.⁷⁰ A few who died in their beds and not on the block continued the aristocratic traditions of the fourteenth century and were interred in one of the mendicant houses. William Berkley, for example, Marquis Berkley (d. 1492) was buried in the 'east wing' of the Austin Friars;⁷¹ William Beaumont, Viscount Beaumont (d. 1507) and Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand (d. 1508) were buried in the Black Friars where their tombs were illustrated by the herald, Sir Thomas Wriothesley during the 1520s,

⁶⁷ Ross, *John de Vere*, 206-207.

⁶⁸ C.f. the empty tomb of John, duke of Bourbon (d.1434) at the Grey Friars. His body was exhumed and taken to France in 1451 for reburial yet his empty tomb was left in the Friars Minor of London where it was recorded in the 1520s. This and the de Vere example shows that tombs also served as cenotaphs for the dead and were not always grave markers.

⁶⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 341.

⁷⁰ Ibid, i, 179.

⁷¹ Ibid, i, 178.

figures 7.1 and 7.2.⁷² Their tombs were rich in heraldic arms hence why they were of such interest in the heralds' record. There were no dynastic associations between Beaumont or St Amand with their choice of burial places: it seems that by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries these mendicant houses had become an obvious resting place for those members of the aristocracy who died at their town houses rather than being taken to a family mausoleum near their country estates.

Londoners and their Graves

It is particularly striking that there were very few monuments recorded for Londoners in these other London convents. The Grey Friars was a popular place of burial for the wealthy craftsmen and their families yet, at first glance, the other mendicant houses do not seem to have mirrored this enthusiasm. There were proportionally more at the Crutched Friars but, as shown in Table 3, very few tombs were recorded elsewhere.

At first glance the recorded evidence suggests that Londoners were not interested in burial in these houses. This is because the heralds, who are the only source for burial and commemoration in these London friaries, were biased towards those who were armigerous, royalty, nobility and knights. By the time the antiquarians came to make their own record the tombs from the mendicant houses had been destroyed. The evidence of wills at the Black Friars is a suggestive one

⁷² Ibid, i, 341; BL. Add. MS 45131 ff. 88v (Beaumont) and f. 82 (St Amand).

because although there was only one tomb listed for a Londoner, the merchant taylor William Stalworth (d. 1518), there were in fact many earlier requests in the wills for London men and women to be buried with the Dominicans. But their tombs were not recorded. In the will of the bowyer, Adam Haket (d. 1378), for instance, he asked to be buried under the stone of his wife Cecily in the Friars Preacher.⁷³ This was not recorded in the heraldic manuscript nor by Stow or Strype. It is possible that it was not made. But it is striking that later testamentary requests for burial, where we know a tomb was commissioned, and remembrance in the Dominican convent were likewise omitted. William Hanwell, for instance, a London grocer asked in his will of 1446 to be buried under his marble stone in the Black Friars.⁷⁴ His will suggests that his brass (or incised slab) was already there because it is described in the present tense. His widow Juliana, who died three years later, asked to be buried under it in her own will.⁷⁵ Just under twenty years later, in 1465, the spurrier John Gulle asked to be buried before the image of St Peter in the aisle of the Black Friars and for his executors to arrange a marble stone with a piece of copper engraved with his name, mystery, degree and the day and year of his death.⁷⁶ This too was not recorded in the written accounts. It is possible that Gulle's executors did not fulfill his request. Yet given that a monument for a spurrier was less likely to have contained any heraldic imagery than, for example, a knight it is possible that the heralds simply did not record it and that Stow and

⁷³ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/108.

⁷⁴ LMA, MS 9171/4 f. 189r.

⁷⁵ LMA, MS 9171/4 f. 261v.

⁷⁶ LMA, MS 9171/5 f. 368v.

Strype were unaware of the Gulle brass' probable existence when they came to write their own accounts.

There is a different scenario for graves of Londoners at the Crutched Friars. Here there were many monuments which can be identified for Londoners in this convent. Almost all of them are dated after the 1490/91 fire when the city came to take a keen interest in this small house: many are for members of the aldermanic class who had held civic office and, presumably, included their coats of arms on their memorials and were therefore of more interest to the heralds. The exceptions were the tombs for members of the Narborough family who took notice of this convent church much earlier than their fellow citizens. In his will of 1470, the skinner William Narborough asked to be buried in their Lady Chapel but he did not make any request for a memorial.⁷⁷ It is the will of his widow, Elizabeth (d. 1483) who referred to the 'stone' over Narborough's grave where she also wanted to be buried.⁷⁸ Elizabeth was the executor of her husband's will and it is likely that she had arranged this gravestone on his behalf. The importance placed on the commemoration of this family is evident from the will of their son, William, a grocer, who died in 1490.⁷⁹ He instructed his executors to exhume the bodies of his parents, William and Elizabeth, and for them to be reburied in a new grave, near to the existing one, but closer to the south wall. William, their son, was to be buried in their former grave. Further instruction was provided in William's will concerning their monuments. The inscription and 'imagery', taken to be effigy brasses of

⁷⁷ LMA MS 9171/6 ff. 50r-50v.

⁷⁸ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/7 ff. 52v-53r.

⁷⁹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/9 ff. 9r-10v.

William senior and Elizabeth, were to be changed: this is a rarely known instance of pre-Reformation instruction, recorded in a will, directing the deliberate removal of brasses from their stone and their reuse. The intention seems to have been to use his parents' brass as a palimpsest for William's own commemoration. Furthermore, a new tomb was to be commissioned, 'a tombe of Marble wt a Reredow to be made' for William's parents over their new grave and for this to contain new imagery and an inscription.⁸⁰

This example is unusual because it shows the importance placed by some families on securing a better tomb for their parents and the need, for the Narboroughs, to have something better and more impressive in the Crutched Friars. The late fifteenth century saw a change in fashions with canopied altar tombs being used more often by wealthy Londoners.⁸¹ There are examples of these monuments in the parish churches of All Hallows Barking, for John Croke, skinner (d. 1477), and at St Helen Bishopsgate for the merchant taylor, Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500), and the new Narborough tomb may have resembled something similar.⁸² Attention is also drawn to the decision made by William, their son, to rebury his parents inside the Crutched Friars where they would be better remembered. This suggests that by 1483 the convent was a sufficiently eminent place for Londoners to choose to be buried there rather than in a parish church. Given that the will of the Narborough's son, William, was made on 5 September

⁸⁰ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/9 ff. 9r-10v.

⁸¹ B. Cherry, 'Some New Types of Late Medieval Tombs in the London Area' in L. Grant, ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London* (Leeds, 1990), 140-154.

⁸² The Pemberton tomb was formerly in the church of St Martin Outwich and was moved in 1874 to the nearby St Helen Bishopsgate.

1483, only a matter of a few weeks since he had been granted probate (as the sole executor) of his mother's estate, this choice may reflect her intentions. Elizabeth Narborough had made her will very shortly before her death and it is brief: the inference is that she was seriously ill and wrote down the pressing matters required in her will and gave her son William verbal instructions outlining what she wanted for a better looking tomb. William left a number of legacies to his mother's servants, which suggests he was fulfilling similar verbal instructions. Elizabeth had also arranged a twenty year obit in the Crutched Friars and it is possible that her new tomb was to have a functional use during the anniversary hence her need for something more significant than a brass set on a flat stone. Whatever the reason, William did as he had been told and used the opportunity to arrange his own monument. Given the apparent grandeur of his parents' tomb it seems unusual that William chose to have something much smaller and second hand. This may suggest common practice of pre-Reformation recycling of brasses or reflect this own humility.⁸³ He may also have run out of money.

The Narborough's are a remarkable, albeit unusual, instance of a London family carrying out a commemorative programme to perpetuate their memory over a twenty year period. Other tombs from the late fifteenth century seem to suggest a last minute change of plan on the part of the testators when choosing burial in the Crutched Friars. Dame Isabel Edward (d. 1490), for example, preferred to be buried on her own before the image of Our Lady (and probably in the Lady Chapel)

⁸³ Some evidence has been found of this in the churchwardens' accounts of London but on the instructions of the wardens not the family, see S. Badham, 'Medieval Greens: Recycling Brasses and their Slabs', *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society*, No. 93 (May 2003), 673-674.

in this convent rather than with the body of her late husband, the mayor William Edward who was buried in the Austin Friars.⁸⁴ Other Londoners were likewise attracted to the Crutched Friars when it came to choosing their grave. A brass was known to have existed in the Crutched Friars for the mercer, Hugh Brown (d. 1502) but this was not recorded by the heralds list nor in any of the other written accounts. It is known to have existed only because a Cornishman, William Treffrey, esquire (d. 1504) of Fowey (Cornwall) had seen this on a visit to the convent and wanted one just like it. In Treffrey's will he asked for:

A tombe with three ymages, oon for my broder, another for me, and another for my wif and lyke unto a tombe which lyeth on Mr Browne in the Croched freere of london, with the pitie of Saynt Gregory and such scriptures as my executos can devise after the apparel of the same ... a tombe to be made and sende to Fowy out of the yle of Pyrbeck after the forme and patron [pattern] of the Tombe ther Maist(er) Browne lyeth in the Croched freers.⁸⁵

The early decades of the sixteenth century saw a steady number of Londoners wishing to be buried in the Crutched Friars: later burials included Humphrey Southwich, merchant of the Staple of Calais (d. 1506), William Berell the elder, a grocer (d. 1512), and Oliver Turner, a porter from the Tower of London (d. 1520).⁸⁶ Of these men none of them specified a tomb although one was later recorded for Turner.⁸⁷ Unlike the Grey Friars, the convent of the Holy Cross also attracted the bodies of a significant number of former office holders. From the 1520s onwards,

⁸⁴ Kingsford, *Survey of London*, i 147 (Isabel) and *ibid*, 179 (William).

⁸⁵ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/14 ff. 164v-166r; P.D. Cockerham, 'The early monuments at Fowey: a reappraisal', *CM*, 10 (1995), 20-36.

⁸⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/15 f. 73r (Southwich); TNA: PRO, PROB 11/19 ff. 223v-224v (Berell); and TNA: PRO, PROB 11/20 f. 5v.

⁸⁷ *Heralds and Heraldry*, 145.

several former civic officer holders chose to be buried in this friary. John Rest, mayor in 1516-17 and a former grocer was buried in 1522;⁸⁸ his widow Agnes was buried alongside him in 1523.⁸⁹ Two years later, Sir John Skevington, a former sheriff, directed his body to be buried in the choir and for his executors to arrange a 'Tombe of Marble' over his grave and for this to contain an image of him.⁹⁰ Londoners continued to be buried at the Crutched Friars almost until the moment of the surrender of the house. In 1536, Sir John Milbourne was to be buried before the altar of St Mary the Virgin where he directed that a tomb was to be made over his grave at the discretion of his executors.⁹¹ This was made because we know from Stow that Dame Joan, Sir John's widow and one of his executors, arranged for Sir John's body and his tomb to be taken out of the Crutched Friars and taken to the parish church of St Edmund Lombard Street.⁹² This seems to have been done by 1542 the year Dame Joan made her own will in which she requested burial in this church.⁹³

Londoners' enthusiasm for the mendicant orders is seen through their choice of burial and commemoration. The selectiveness of the sources has meant that the full extent is shadowy. But at the Crutched Friars, where wealthy Londoners responded to the disastrous events of the 1490s with generosity and enthusiasm, they quickly came to commission an impressive series of memorials for themselves. Widow Narborough seems to have made her requirements clear,

⁸⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 147.

⁸⁹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/21 ff. 116r-117r.

⁹⁰ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/21 ff. 316v-318v.

⁹¹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/25 ff. 264v-266r.

⁹² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 202-203.

⁹³ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/30 ff. 275v-277v.

even from beyond the grave. And so impressive were these monuments that at least one visitor to London wanted one just like it placed over his own grave in his Cornish parish.

Memorials for the Clergy

Unlike their brethren at the Grey Friars, there are very few memorials for the clergy in other London houses. There were only seven tombs recorded for this group of men in total from the other four mendicant houses, six of which were in the White Friars. This is almost certainly an incomplete record and that monuments for the clergy, like those for Londoners, were not of sufficient interest to the heralds. The study on monuments for the clergy in the Grey Friars, has shown that there were at least 130 surviving and visible monuments for them when the burial list was made in the 1520s. Of these over 100 were for the friars themselves leading to the conclusion that the Franciscan friars had a particular fascination with brasses and incised slabs to serve as their grave marker.⁹⁴ It seems unlikely that friars from other orders would not be commemorated in their own houses. We know of six tombs recorded from the Carmelite house in Fleet Street because they were noted down by John Weever in *Ancient Funeral Monuments*.⁹⁵ In his account of this particular convent, Weever referred to his 'perusall of a Manuscript, penned in the praise of this religious Order; out of which I collected divers Epitaphs, which in times past had beene engraven upon the Sepulchers of certaine Carmelites, here

⁹⁴ Chapter 6.

⁹⁵ Weever (1631), 436-439.

in the Church of this Priory interred'.⁹⁶ But Weever did not record where this manuscript was held and nothing is known about it. It was because of the unusual nature of the inscriptions that Weever recorded them: that for John Loneye for example was:

Clauditur hoc claustro Frater Loneye Iohannes
Expertus mundo celo fruiturus ut heres⁹⁷

(Brother John Loney is enclosed in this cloister,
well educated in this world, fit to enjoy heaven as an heir)

It is through this manuscript that we know of the existence of these six tombs none of which were recorded by Stow, Strype nor the heralds. This absence again emphasizes the selectiveness of the heralds who, after all, did not record a single brass for a friar in the Grey Friars. It would therefore be reasonable to suggest that the similar, apparent absence of clergy in the other London houses reflects the heralds' lack of interest. It is unfortunate that the friars were not allowed to own property and leave wills which has meant that we are none the wiser on their commemorative aspirations.

Of the six monuments recorded at the White Friars they were for senior members of the order: Prior John Loneye, doctor of divinity (d. 1390),⁹⁸ Robert Marshall, bishop of Hereford (d. 1416),⁹⁹ Stephen Patrington,¹⁰⁰ bishop of

⁹⁶ Ibid, 437.

⁹⁷ Weever (1631), 439.

⁹⁸ Weever (1631), 439.

⁹⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), ii, 400.

¹⁰⁰ Weever, (1631), 437-438.

Chichester (d. 1417), Nicholas Kenton, Provincial of the Carmelite order (d. 1468),¹⁰¹ John Milverton, Provincial of the Carmelite order (d. 1487)¹⁰² and John Palgrave, prior of the Carmelites (date of death not known)¹⁰³. Weever described Marshall's tomb as 'a goodly Monument of Alabaster' which could either mean that it was an incised slab or, and perhaps more likely for a man of his status, an effigy of the bishop.¹⁰⁴ Weever did not describe the monuments for Kenton, Milverton, Loneye or Palgrave. They may have been engraved on to brass or have been hung on a wooden table near to their graves: the evidence is unclear.

A tomb for 'Master John Tirres' was noted at the Crutched Friars but nothing about him has been discovered. The lack of monuments for the friars themselves seems out of place although the relative poverty of the surrounding area may account for this. But at the Black Friars not a single tomb was recorded for the clergy. This cannot have been the case. Testamentary evidence demonstrates that right up until the end, some members of the secular clergy wished to be interred in this London house: in his will of 1533, Thomas Larke, priest, requested burial in the south aisle of the Black Friars where his gravestone was already set.¹⁰⁵ Another priest, William Abye had also arranged his tomb in the Black Friars during his lifetime because in his will he asked to be buried in the church of Mary Magdalene 'late called the Blak Frees Churche where my stoone yeth and my name uppon it

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 438. For Kenton, see the entry by Richard Copsey in *ODNB*, 31, 337.

¹⁰² Weever (1631), 438-439. For Milverton, see the entry by Richard Copsey in *ODNB*, 38, 350-351.

¹⁰³ Weever (1631), 439.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 437.

¹⁰⁵ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/25 f. 9r.

or elswher in Cristen buryell'.¹⁰⁶ Abye clearly hoped that his body could make use of the stone he had already commissioned but also gave his executors discretion to bury him elsewhere if necessary. That there were only seven tombs recorded for the clergy in the other mendicant houses is unquestionably based on incomplete visitation lists made by the heralds.

Aliens in the Friaries

There were thirty one monuments for aliens recorded in the Grey Friars burial list, most of which are thought to date from the fourteenth century. Of those the majority were for Florentines who had a particular attraction to London's Franciscan order.¹⁰⁷ In the other mendicant houses only ten tombs were recorded for aliens, seven at the Austin Friars and three at the Black Friars. There were none noted at the White Friars or the Crutched Friars.

The heralds' interest with coats of arms is apparent in their record of alien tombs at the Austin Friars: those they noted were for the nobility and knights from overseas. In the Chapel of St John were two French lords, named Angleur and Tremayne who were simply described as lords of France.¹⁰⁸ Nothing further is known about them: they may have been prisoners captured during the Hundred Years War who died while awaiting payment of their ransom or perhaps household

¹⁰⁶ I. Darlington, *London Consistory Court Wills 1492-1547*, (London Record Society, 3 1967), 95-96. He was a chantry priest from St Peter Westcheap.

¹⁰⁷ Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 2, 115.

knights from the Crown's conquered territories. Neither of their tombs was described, although the description offered in the College of Arms manuscript records that another alien tomb, for Guy de Châtillon, count of St Pol (d. 1317) was in the wall of the choir.¹⁰⁹ His tomb may therefore have been set into a recessed arch. Elsewhere in the choir were monuments for two French knights, Sir Peter Garinsers and his son Sir Thomas.¹¹⁰ The Austin Friars was also the resting place of another aristocratic Frenchman, Richard II's former tutor Guy d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon, K.G. (d. 1380), was buried in the 'west wing'. In his will he asked to be buried (if he died overseas) before the High Altar in the Lady Chapel of the Church of the Holy Cross at Angle, France, where he had already arranged his tomb. Should he die in England he requested burial in the Grey Friars church at Reading (Berkshire), but he willed that his heart should be taken to Angle and buried there.¹¹¹ And yet he was buried in the Austin Friars in London. This may have been because of an earlier tradition whereby notable Frenchmen who died in the city were buried in this mendicant house. It may also reflect the young king's early interest in changing the burial wishes of his loyal courtiers and re-organising them in places which he thought more suitable. Richard's later influence on the burials of his circle in Westminster Abbey is well known.¹¹² It may be no more than a coincidence that the Austin Friars was also the burial site for the King's elder half-brother, Edmund Holland (thought to have died during the 1350s).¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Benolt 2, f.15v.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, f. 15v.

¹¹¹ N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 2 vols (London, 1826), i, 109.

¹¹² N. Saul, 'The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey', *TMBS*, 15:1 (1992), 19-32.

¹¹³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 178; for Richard II's relationship with the Austin friars, see Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 373-374.

Two of the three tombs recorded from the Black Friars, were likewise for noble aliens; John de Bermingham, earl of Louth and justiciar of Ireland (d. 1329)¹¹⁴ and Robert of Artois, count of Beaumont (d. 1342).¹¹⁵ The third was the tomb for James 'King of Spain' which is a mistake by Strype who mis-read 'Master' for 'King'.¹¹⁶ The burials of Beaumont and Louth correspond to the inclinations of the English nobility to seek burial in London's mendicant houses if they died in the city: their alien counterparts did the same. Without knowing more on 'Master James of Spain' it is difficult to understand why he too sought burial in this particular house and also why the heralds chose to record his monument.

Conclusion

A direct comparison between the Grey Friars and the other mendicant houses of London is not possible. The apparent selectivity of the heralds' lists has demonstrated that the tombs which were recorded in these other convents are but a selection of what was almost certainly a much richer commemorative landscape. It is inconceivable that there were only seven monuments for the clergy within this group of religious houses: and we would not know anything about them had Weever not come across an otherwise (and now lost) manuscript and become interested and recorded the epitaphs for the six prominent Carmelites. Similarly, an examination of the testamentary intentions of Londoners who wished to be buried

¹¹⁴ Ibid, i, book 2, 180. I am grateful to Rob Kinsey for drawing this earl to my attention, see also the entry by Robin Frame in the *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2229>, accessed 26 Aug 2013].

¹¹⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1720), i, book 3, 180.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, i, book 2, 181; Benolt 2, f. 13v.

at the Black Friars has revealed compelling evidence for many pre-existing tombs yet these were not recorded by any of the later accounts. The heralds seem only to have listed those tombs which were of obvious interest to them, namely those which displayed heraldry and arms on their tombs. Hence the large number of memorials noted for the nobility, knights and the gentry.

Founders and benefactors, as at the Grey Friars, were rewarded by being granted the opportunity to be buried and commemorated within the London houses. Yet even though not all of these benefactors sought burial in London, their families maintained the relationship and association by themselves choosing burial in these convents. This relationship in turn led to other noble families choosing to be buried in the London friaries. In this they were joined by the knightly class: there was a trickle-down influence. This was especially important for those who died while in London and also for their families: in this, the other mendicant houses of London were similar to the Grey Friars who likewise remained popular with those non-Londoners who visited from the shires. The records do not reveal any tombs for the Italians at the Austin Friars yet we know that thirty-three asked to be buried there between 1350-1450.¹¹⁷ And there would have been others. It would be unusual for them to be buried under unmarked gravestones. The evidence of commemoration for aliens has shown that important Frenchmen were buried alongside these Italians. The friars international, as well as national, set up meant

¹¹⁷ H.L. Bradley, 'Italian Merchants in London, University of London PhD (1992), 51. I am grateful to Helen Bradley for her discussion on alien burials and for information received.

that English visitors to London, and those from overseas, were familiar with the orders and were naturally attracted to them in life and death.

We have already seen that there were very few remains of traitors at the Grey Friars and in this respect, the Austin Friars were more active in securing the remains of rebels. The burial and tomb set up over the grave of Richard Fitz-alan, earl of Arundel seems to have acted as a catalyst for pilgrims and visitors and thus a natural place for other families to choose interment for a husband, father or brother's remains. The large number of burials of executed men at the Austin Friars is a poignant reminder on just how bloody the civil war of the fifteenth century was and how family members were executed in one generation for supporting one side, yet executed a generation later for choosing the other.

For these other mendicant houses in the city, the written record offers some suggestions on the type of monuments which were in place but the descriptions which are provided are rarely detailed. We are able to learn that there were a number of recessed arch tombs in the Black Friars but it is not clear whether these contained a sculptured effigy of the deceased or if instead they had a flat cross or incised slab set over their grave. The testamentary evidence of those whose tombs were not recorded, yet were evidently set up, indicates that monumental brasses were as popular in these other mendicant houses as they were in the Grey Friars.

Finally, perhaps one of the most striking characteristics are the references, albeit infrequent, to bodies and tombs being moved both from the Dominican and from the Crutched Friars. After the closure of the convents, widows protected their husbands' memory by arranging for the exhumation of the remains and their reburial elsewhere. They sometimes had the tomb moved as well. But this was not new: bodies were dug up before the Reformation and interred in better positions when families – for whatever reason – reordered the grave space and commemorations of their kinsmen. This was not dissimilar to the reburial of Hubert de Burgh and his family at the Black Friars where, as founder, he had been transplanted at the new Ludgate site. Bodies – and tombs – were quite often on the move in medieval London.

Chapter 8: London's Religious Houses

A rare glimpse of a city skyline rich with steeples, spires and church towers is afforded in Wyngaerde's *Panorama* made c. 1540-42, **figure 8.1**.¹ Many of these features were of London's parish churches; others were of the city's mendicant churches. The outline of the Austin Friars, for example, is clearly visible in the centre-east of the *Panorama* and is only matched by the majesty of the Gothic St Paul's Cathedral to the western edge. Nestling immediately behind the cathedral is the Grey Friars where its 'barn like' structure is particularly distinctive. But this skyline also shows the upper levels of several of London's religious houses, many of which were about to change drastically during their redevelopment into secular buildings. The Abbey of St Mary Graces, for example, at the far east of the city north of the Tower of London, would shortly be largely destroyed and various sections of the Abbey would be turned into secular accommodation.² The drawing of the large squat tower of the Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate at the east of the city is another rare illustration of a building which was about to become significantly altered during the Reformation.³ At about the same time that this drawing was made, sections of the priory were already being demolished and rebuilt to form the London mansion of Sir Thomas Audley who died there in 1544. The *Panorama* is therefore an important snapshot of London's ecclesiastical landscape at almost the

¹ H. Colvin and S. Foister, eds, *The Panorama of London circa 1544 by Anthony van den Wyngaerde* (London Topographical Society, 151, 1996).

² I. Grainger and C. Phillpotts, *The Cistercian abbey of St Mary Graces, East Smithfield, London* (London, 2011).

³ J. Schofield and R. Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: An Archaeological Reconstruction and History* (London, 2005).

very moment that it was most threatened and, ultimately, transformed. Many of these religious houses contained monuments which were recorded by John Stow and others. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the extent of burial and commemoration within them by taking a sample of three houses which contained the largest number of recorded monuments, as case studies.

There are 227 monuments recorded in the different written accounts for London's religious houses. Many were not dated and further research has not identified any will or other source to enable a precise dating for ninety-six of these tombs. It is extremely likely that these were from an earlier period, probably the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and that the dates of death had become worn by the time these tombs were recorded. But in spite of the gaps in this evidence, there were nevertheless 131 memorials which can be dated and where we know the identity and status of the deceased. Table 4 shows how many monuments were recorded in each of the religious houses of London. This does not include the mendicant houses nor does it include the colleges.⁴ Religious houses are defined as those monastic communities resident within the city of London: it is those houses founded within the city wards which have been included and they are arranged in order of their foundation. Yet the heralds – whose lists of tombs were used by later writers – did not visit all the religious houses. There were, for example, no memorials recorded from the two hospitals of Austin canons, the hospitals of St Mary Bishopsgate and St Mary Bethlehem. Yet we know that requests for burial and commemoration were made: Thomas Acton, gentleman

⁴ Discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

(d.1489), for instance, asked to be interred in the Chapel of St Anne at St Mary Bishopsgate and for a shroud image of him and his wife in brass to be set over his grave at the discretion of his executors.⁵ It is not known whether this was commissioned but we know that he was buried in St Anne's Chapel because his son, John, who died in 1508 asked to be buried with his father and mother in this chapel.⁶ It seems reasonable to suppose that the commemorative requirements of Acton senior were likewise fulfilled but not recorded by the heralds or antiquarians. We know of 227 tombs which were of sufficient interest to the heralds and other writers and these are summarized in Table 4:

Table 4: Tombs from the Religious Houses of London, c. 1140 – 1540.

	pre 1349	1350- 99	1400- 49	1450- 99	1500- 40	n.d.	Total
Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate	5	2	4	6		17	34
Hospital of St Bartholomew			9	13	1	15	38
Priory of St Bartholomew	4	1	2	3		23	33
Hospital of St Katherine			2	4	1	4	11
Hospital of St Thomas of Acre		1	7	11	15	10	44
Hospital of St Anthony of Vienne					3		3
St Helen's Bishopsgate		3	5	4	9	12	33
Hospital of St Mary Cripplegate (Elsingspital)	2	3	2	3		5	15
Abbey of St Mary Graces		1	1	1	3	10	16
	11	11	32	45	32	96	227

⁵ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/8 ff. 192v-194r.

⁶ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/16 Quire 6 ff. 41r-41v.

Table 4 shows that there were fewer monuments recorded before 1450. This is comparable to burials and tombs recorded elsewhere in the parish churches and mendicant houses. This probably reflects the selectiveness of the heralds, on whose visitations the later accounts were largely based, and the relative expense of monuments before they came down in price from the mid fifteenth century. Yet again the vulnerability of floor tombs and natural wear and tear on these monuments cannot be over-emphasized. The redevelopment and building works taking place during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would also have led to such losses. Archaeological surveys have shown that at the Abbey of St Mary Grace's, for example, a number of slabs from monuments were re-used during various phases of the building and extending of the Abbey site.⁷ Yet Table 4 provokes a number of important observations. Firstly, several houses had no recorded burials before 1400 as at the hospitals of St Katherine and St Bartholomew; rebuilding work at St Katherine's during the fourteenth century may have led to the destruction of earlier monuments from this church. At the hospital of St Bartholomew in Smithfield burial rights were not granted until 1373.⁸ In the Abbey of St Mary Graces there were likewise very few burials before the fifteenth century because the house was founded in 1350 and building work was taking place until the end of the fourteenth century.⁹ The Hospital of St Anthony of Vienne was also rebuilt at the end of the fifteenth century under the generous benefaction of the mercer and former mayor, Sir John Tate. During this process it seems that any earlier monuments were completely removed as the earliest tomb recorded

⁷ Grainger and Phillpotts, *The Cistercian Abbey of St Mary Graces*, 62.

⁸ Barron and Davies, 155-159 (St Katherine) and 149-154 (St Bartholomew).

⁹ Grainger and Phillpotts, *The Cistercian abbey of St Mary Graces*, 15.

from this particular house is that of Tate himself who died in 1514.¹⁰ His memorial is of interest. He did not refer to his tomb in his will but directed that he should be buried in the chapel he had built.¹¹ The tomb may have already been built because in a separate indenture Tate instructed that the priest was to sing *De Profundis* daily at Sir John's tomb upon which he was to cast holy water. The children who attended St Anthony's school were likewise to remember Sir John and his wife Dame Magdalene by prayer at the tomb.¹² Only two other monuments were recorded from St Anthony's, Dr John Taylor, Master of the Rolls (d. 1532) and the alderman, Walter Champion (d. 1533).¹³

Table 4 also shows that the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre had the largest number of recorded tombs (44) followed by the Hospital of St Bartholomew (38) and the Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate (34). These three London houses will be taken as case studies for burial and commemoration in the city monasteries. They will be discussed in the order of their foundation.

Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate

The Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate was a royal foundation but unlike other royal foundations in London, in particular the mendicant houses, there were hardly any burials and tombs for the royal family. The priory was founded by Queen Matilda

¹⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 184.

¹¹ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/18 ff. 25r-26v.

¹² For this indenture see, A.F. Sutton, *A Merchant Family of Coventry, London and Calais: The Tates, c. 1450-1515* (London, 1998), 50.

¹³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 184 (Taylor) and 185 (Champion).

(d. 1118), first wife of Henry I, in about 1107/08. She apparently wanted to be buried there but instead the monks of Westminster Abbey managed to obtain her body for themselves and buried her by their high altar.¹⁴ Her husband's embalmed remains were brought back from Normandy and King Henry was buried at his foundation at Reading Abbey (Berkshire) where his second wife, Queen Adeliza (d. 1151) and other members of the twelfth century royal family, were later buried.¹⁵ It was Henry's successor, Stephen, and his wife Matilda of Boulogne who had a particular interest in Holy Trinity Aldgate and two of their five children, who had died in infancy, were buried there. The relations between Stephen of Blois and Holy Trinity Aldgate were close during the 1140s where he buried his infant children, Baldwin (d. before 1137) and Matilda (d. 1137?) shortly after taking the throne in 1135.¹⁶ In the early twelfth century there were no royal mausoleums, as such, and burial practice within the English royal family seems to have been driven by the preference for a particular foundation. Given that the heralds did not record either of these Blois tombs it is likely that the inscription had faded or worn away by the time the heralds visited in c.1504. Monuments in the twelfth century were generally flat or sculptured and it would seem unusual for Stephen to commission

¹⁴ G.A.J. Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London Record Society, 7, 1971), 230; Schofield and Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory*, 148.

¹⁵ *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, 2 vols. (Camden 4th ser., 31, 33, 1986-7), i, 14 and note (Henry I); 416-7 (Adeliza).

¹⁶ Schofield and Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory*, 148. For their burial at Holy Trinity Aldgate see Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, entry 973 and appendix 14 which suggests that these children were buried there by 1147. This is also discussed in E. King, *King Stephen* (London, 2010), 141, 236 and 313-316. I am grateful to Jane Martindale for sharing with me her observations on these royal tombs.

effigial monuments for his dead children at the height of the civil war. Their tombs were probably cross or incised slabs.¹⁷

There are two other pre-1350 monuments recorded at this priory. These are for Henry Fitz-ailwine, the first mayor of London (d. 1212) and for Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex and Gloucester (d. 1216). Neither of these burials were recorded by the heralds' visitations of c. 1504 but both were included by John Stow in his account of the tombs at Holy Trinity Priory.¹⁸ A comparison between Stow's list of burials with the surviving heralds' account, shows that Stow may not, in this case, have used the heralds' list because the order of names is different. It is unlikely that Stow had any first-hand knowledge of the tombs as these were long destroyed by the time he made his list of London's monuments. Further, it is at the end of Stow's account for Holy Trinity Aldgate that we find the four pre-1350 tombs were noted, viz., Baldwin, Matilda, Henry Fitz-ailwine and Geoffrey de Mandeville. This suggests that Stow had found a second manuscript and added these further names to an already copied out account.¹⁹

Henry Fitz-ailwine may well have been buried in Holy Trinity Priory. It may partly have been through family tradition because his grandfather, Leofstan, as

¹⁷ The grieving Henry III commissioned a silver effigy for his infant daughter, Princess Katherine, buried at Westminster in 1257, see S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, 'The Tomb Monument of Katherine, Daughter of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence (1253-7)', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 92 (2012), 169-196.

¹⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 141.

¹⁹ Stow probably used the Cartulary of Holy Trinity Priory, see Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 29 and 120-123.

reeve of London, had been involved in the foundation process of 1107/1108.²⁰ And this association between Fitz-ailwine and the priory would have continued through the close working relationship between Fitz-ailwine, who was mayor of London for twenty-two years from 1190 to 1212, and the priors Stephen and Peter de Cornwall (priors 1170-1221). Both of these by virtue of their office as Prior were, *ipso facto*, alderman of Portsoken ward. In the cartulary of Holy Trinity Priory there are eighteen charters witnessed by Fitz-ailwine.²¹ It may have been because of his status as mayor that he was chosen as an important witness but nevertheless this brought him into closer contact with the priory. The cartulary has also been marked with marginal notes relating to Fitz-ailwine and it is from one of these that we learn of his burial in 1212 under a marble stone at the entrance to one of the chapels, 'Hic sepelitur infra introitium cappelli in medio sub lanura (sic) marmorea'. (He is buried here inside the entrance to the chapel, in the middle, under a marble stone).²² This was noted against a list of sheriffs of London, the last entry being for Richard Renger and Thomas Lambert who served in 1221-22. The reference to Fitz-ailwine's tomb was probably made about this date. His marble stone may have contained an inscription formed of separate brass plates around the marginal edge of the slab; it may alternatively have been an incised slab. This is the earliest recorded monument, for a Londoner, in London.

²⁰ See entry on Henry Fitz-ailwine by Derek Keene, *ODNB*, 26, 558-559.

²¹ Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, for example entries 270, 663 and 1015.

²² *Ibid*, entry 1073.

There was also a record of other memorials for Fitz-ailwyn in the parish church of St Mary Bothaw.²³ This is puzzling because the record of his burial at Holy Trinity Priory appears convincing. Fitz-ailwyn was a parishioner of St Mary Bothaw and it was entirely natural that he, or his family, should use different means of commemoration to perpetuate his memory. It is also possible that the memorials recorded in St Mary Bothaw were retrospective commissions to honour London's first, and longest serving, mayor. There is no evidence that Fitz-ailwine's body and tomb were transplanted from Holy Trinity Priory to St Mary Bothaw following the priory's surrender in 1532 and he was perhaps commemorated with two tombs.

Four years after Fitz-ailwine's death, Holy Trinity Priory received the remains of its first recorded noble burial.²⁴ Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex and Gloucester, was killed in a tournament in London in 1216 and the suddenness – and unexpectedness – of his death may explain why he was buried in a religious house in the city rather than in the family mausoleum at Shouldham Priory (Norfolk).²⁵ Shortly afterwards, his brother and successor as earl, William, granted property in the parish of St Mary Aldermanbury to Holy Trinity Aldgate for the souls of their father and mother and for the soul of Geoffrey.²⁶ Perhaps it was William who took care of his brother's burial and intercessory needs. There are no descriptions of this de Mandeville tomb although it is possible that this memorial

²³ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 2, 198-199. This was not included in Stow's account.

²⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 141.

²⁵ *CP*, v, 126-130

²⁶ Hodgett, 'The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate', entry 701a.

closely resembled the knightly effigies for the Marshall earls of Pembroke, at the Temple church.²⁷

Neither the heralds' lists nor John Stow's account record any other thirteenth century tombs at Holy Trinity. There were likewise no monuments recorded from the first half of the fourteenth century. But the archaeological report, published in 2005, has suggested that there were a number of recycled grave covers used in rebuilding the buttresses along the south nave of the church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which may explain this.²⁸ There is similar evidence of fragments from screens and tombs, dated to the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, used as building rubble.²⁹ This suggests that many of the earlier tombs were vulnerable to loss during rebuilding activities, particularly during the fourteenth century. That several Londoners were, in fact, buried in Holy Trinity Priory in the fourteenth century is suggested by the evidence of the wills enrolled in the Husting Court. In 1372, for instance, the potter, Simon de Hatfield, wished to be buried in front of the altar of St John the Baptist; later John de Cantebrigge, fishmonger (d. 1376), asked to be buried in the Lady Chapel where his son and two former wives were buried.³⁰

²⁷ For the most up to date account of these thirteenth century monuments see, P. J. Lankester, 'The Thirteenth-Century Military Effigies in the Temple Church', in R. Griffith-Jones and D. Park, *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art* (Woodbridge, 2010), 93-134.

²⁸ Schofield and Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate*, 153.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 158.

³⁰ HW, ii, 155-156 (Hatfield) and ii, 197-198 (Cantebrigge). These were copied into the Cartulary, Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, entry 1034 (Hatfield) and 1035 (Cantebrigge).

There is more evidence for graves of Londoners who had served in civic office after 1350. The special relationship between the priory and the city almost certainly influenced this and brought the prior into regular contact with other civic dignitaries. One of the earliest known examples from the fourteenth century is the memorial for Simon Fraunceys, mercer, and former sheriff and mayor who chose to be buried in this house. He died in 1358 but his will does not provide any instruction about his burial arrangements or commemoration, although we know he had a tomb because it was recorded by Stow.³¹ The will of the alderman, John Malewayn (d. 1361) did not refer to a monument, although he specifically asked to be buried next to his wife, Margery in the Priory of Holy Trinity.³² Their tomb was also noted by Stow.³³ There is only one other fourteenth century tomb recorded in this house: John Breton, described as 'esquire', who may have been the testator of the same name who died in 1369.³⁴ But in Breton's case his wishes concerning burial appear to have changed because in his will drawn up in 1364 he requested burial in the Crutched Friars yet by the time probate was granted in 1368 he had been interred in Holy Trinity Priory.³⁵ Perhaps he changed his mind and told his executors verbally: or perhaps they decided to bury him in the priory and not in the friary. However, neither the heralds' visitation nor the account made by John Stow described the appearance of these tombs.

³¹ HW, ii, 5; Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 141.

³² HW, ii, pp. 38-39.

³³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 141.

³⁴ *Ibid*, i, 141.

³⁵ *Ibid*, i, 141. It is unclear whether this is the same John Breton.

There were few tombs recorded for Londoners at Holy Trinity Priory in the fifteenth century. This may have been because of the ongoing maladministration at the priory which dissuaded wealthy Londoners from choosing burial in this house.³⁶ This is similar to burial patterns elsewhere, seen for example at the mendicant houses, where it is suggested Londoners changed their allegiance from the now established friaries to institutions undergoing rebuilding activities, such as the parish churches, where they could better leave their mark.³⁷ The latest monument at Holy Trinity, for a Londoner, was for Sir Robert Turk (d. 1400) who was also a member of the country gentry having served as M.P. for Hertfordshire. Turk's country estate was at Hitchin yet he chose to be buried in London with his first wife, Alice (d. before 1375).³⁸ That Alice was buried in the same religious house as Turk's mother Margery, and step-father John Malewayn, suggests a deliberate commemorative strategy and a small family mausoleum. Yet Turk's second wife, the heiress Beatrice Kendale, who also died in his lifetime, was not recorded on the tomb. This suggests that the tomb was commissioned immediately after the death of Alice and that it was intended to be a shared tomb for Turk and his first wife. It has earlier been suggested that the tombs at Holy Trinity Priory for Fraunceys, Malwayne and Breton were monumental brasses and it is possible that the Turk tomb was also a brass composition made in the 1370s. Unfortunately Turk's will has not survived but he apparently had a considerable interest in his post-mortem remembrance. In the will of the London goldbeater, Bartholomew Seman, almost

³⁶ Barron and Davies, 80-89, esp. 86-87.

³⁷ Chapters 5 and 6.

³⁸ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 141. For an account of Sir Robert Turk, see J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, eds, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, 4 vols (Stroud, 1992), iv, 673-675.

certainly one of Turk's executors, he set up two scholarships at Michaelhouse (now Trinity College), at the University of Cambridge, to accept two poor scholars who were to be known as 'Turkeschildren' and whose scholarships were to be funded from the rents from tenements in St Laurence Jewry and St Mary Somerset. 'Turkeschildren' were to pray for the souls of Sir Robert, his wives Alice and Beatrice and to be housed in a special room called 'Turkeschildren chambre' and clothed in livery with 40s. each for food and drink. The Master and scholars of Michaelhouse were to observe the obit for Turk and his wives every 28 December for which 13s 4d was to be distributed amongst them.³⁹ So, charity, commemoration and remembrance were clearly of great importance to Turk.

After Turk's burial in Holy Trinity, the priory began to attract the burials of those best described as 'the middling sort'. They were not citizens of London but came from all walks of life: their importance is that they do not seem to have been members of a London parish community and were therefore parish-less - hence the attraction of a London priory at the eastern entrance to the city. There is no obvious relationship, for example, between Agnes, widow both of William, Lord Bardolf (d. 1385) and of Sir Thomas Mortimer (d. before 1402), and Holy Trinity yet in her will she requested burial in this house rather than with either of her former husbands. Given that her second husband, Mortimer, had recently died as a fugitive in Scotland her reason for solitary burial in the city, rather than with him, is understandable. Her death in London probably made burial with her first husband, Lord Bardolf at the White Friars, Kings Lynn (Norfolk), impractical. The will of Lady

³⁹ HW, ii, 459-460.

Agnes is very short, presumably the hasty wishes of a dying woman, and her request for burial in Holy Trinity Priory is brief and to the point.⁴⁰ There is no mention of her tomb. Both her husbands are referred to in the written accounts which suggests that they were named on the inscription, but the tomb is not described.

Other non-Londoners who chose to be buried in the priory during the fifteenth century included members of the Kemp family of Middlesex. One of them, John Kemp who died in 1439, was described in his will as an esquire of Havering-atte-Bow. He specifically asked for burial at Holy Trinity Priory and specified where he wanted to be buried, viz., outside in the cemetery at the entrance to the priory.⁴¹ His tomb was recorded by Stow and this is therefore an important example of extra-mural commemoration which is rarely noted in the written sources.⁴² The relationship between John and another Kemp esquire, Simon (d. 1442) is not clear. Also known as Simon Camp, he was an esquire of the body to Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI and also treasurer and receiver-general for Queen Joan. Later he served as M.P. for Middlesex.⁴³ In his will of 1442, Camp bequeathed 20s. to his parish church of St Katherine Cree, built by the Priory for the parishioners and those who lived in the precinct. Rather than request burial in his parish church, Camp directed that he should be buried in the 'body' (the nave) of Holy Trinity

⁴⁰ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/2A, f. 25r.

⁴¹ LMA, MS 9171/4 ff. 12v-13r.

⁴² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 141.

⁴³ Roskell, Clark and Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament*, ii, 472-473.

Aldgate which was a more prestigious burial place than St Katherine Cree.⁴⁴ Within a matter of months, Simon's widow, Margaret died and she asked to be buried near to the body of her husband Simon in the 'body' (nave) of the Priory church.⁴⁵ Neither Simon nor Margaret referred to the form of their monument although Margaret left several commemorative bequests; for example she left her own chapel furnishings to the chapel of St Gregory at Holy Trinity Priory in memory of herself and her husband. Their monument was recorded by the heralds and by Stow.⁴⁶ We can be more certain about the form of this tomb because it was a brass which was later reused for Walter Curson, gentleman (d. 1527) and his widow Isabel which is now in the church of St Mary the Virgin, Waterperry (Oxfordshire), **figure 8.2.**⁴⁷ The Curson inscription is a palimpsest taken from the Camp epitaph at Holy Trinity Priory:

Simon Kamp iacet hic sub marmore carne sepultus
 Lumine suffultus spiritus assit Huic
 Hic Margareta simul vxor contumulatur
 [Mansionem eternam] celum sibi spero paratum
 [A]ugusti mense Kamp [nondum plenus dierum]
 Vicesima Sexta feria [Simon obit ipse]
 Undecima q(u)e die Septembris post obit uxor
 Anno Milleno Quater C quadra Secundo

(Simon Kamp lies here in the flesh, buried under marble,
 deprived of the light, may the Spirit stand by him.
 Here Margaret his wife is buried with him,
 I trust that an eternal dwelling place is prepared for them in
 heaven.
 Simon Kamp, not yet full of days, died on the 26th day of
 August,

⁴⁴ LMA, MS 9171/4 f. 92r.

⁴⁵ LMA, MS 9171/4 f. 96r.

⁴⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 141.

⁴⁷ J. Todd, 'The Palimpsest Brass in Waterperry Church', *TMBS*, 8:1 (1949), pp. 246-262. I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for his comments on this brass.

and his wife died on the 11th of September following,
in the year a thousand, four times a hundred, forty and two)

This is the only known survival (in parts) of a former monument from Holy Trinity Priory.

There are two further occasions when the urban gentry chose to be buried at Holy Trinity Priory. Sir Edmund Wighton (d. 1484) wished to be buried either before the high altar at Holy Trinity or in an unspecified location in the Austin Friars. In the manuscripts used by Stow, Wighton's tomb was either not recorded or was missed when Stow copied out the list of names. But from Benolt 2, a tomb for 'Sir Edmond wiggton knyght' was recorded at Holy Trinity Priory.⁴⁸ In his will Sir Edmund had asked: 'Item I will that myn executours ordeyn a stone to lye upon my sepulcre like as I have declarid to them by mouthe'.⁴⁹ It is rare to find evidence of verbal instructions given about the commissioning of a tomb and the Wighton will is therefore an important example of this practice. From these instructions it is possible to say, with some certainty, that Wighton was commemorated by a flat memorial set over his grave. One of Sir Edmund's executors was the marbler, Henry Lorymer, who was probably responsible for the commission of Wighton's memorial, undoubtedly a brass, hence the oral discussions. It is also significant that Wighton trusted his executors to honour his verbal wishes: he did not feel the need to record them in a will and it is likely that many other testators in medieval London felt the same.

⁴⁸ Benolt 2, f. 20v.

⁴⁹ TNA PRO: PROB 11/7 ff. 159v-160r.

Four years after Sir Edmund was buried in Holy Trinity Priory, the surgeon William Hobbes (d. 1489) made his own will in which he too requested interment in this particular religious house. By now the Priory had, perhaps, attracted a reputation as the repository for the remains of those without a parish, especially if they were of gentry status. Hobbes, like Wighton, left instructions about his tomb and also provided the text for his inscription:

Hic iacet Willelmus Hobbes quondam medicus et Sirurgicus
Illustrissimi domini ducis Eboracensis ac filiorum suorum regum
Illustrissimorum Edwardi iiii et Ricardi tercii quorum anime et
animabus propicietur Deus Amen.⁵⁰

(Here lies William Hobbes once doctor and surgeon of the most illustrious lord Duke of York and of his sons the most illustrious Kings Edward IV and Richard III on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen)

From this request, which includes the phrase 'Hic iacet' standard for many late medieval brasses, it is reasonable to suppose that Hobbes intended to be commemorated by a monumental brass. Whether or not this was to be accompanied by an effigy of him is unknown. It is noteworthy that Hobbes wanted his service to the defeated, and slain, King Richard included on his inscription: he apparently did not consider this provocative to the new regime and he was keen to show his importance as a royal servant. This tomb, however, was not included in the heralds' visitation records and it was not mentioned by Stow. It is possible, of course, that it was not particularly interesting to the heralds; or Hobbes' executors might have been reluctant to advertise his Yorkist credentials.

⁵⁰ HW, ii, 590-591.

There are no recorded sixteenth century monuments from Holy Trinity Priory because there are no accounts of tombs between the heralds list of c. 1504 and the surrender of the house in 1527. The reuse of the Camp brass for the Cursons suggests the Priory was stripped out very quickly.

The Hospital of St Bartholomew ⁵¹

The Hospital of St Bartholomew was created as a joint foundation with the nearby Priory of St Bartholomew by a royal charter of 1133. Both were established by Rahere (d.1142x45), once a former jester to Henry I and his court, but later serving as the first prior of his new foundations in West Smithfield. A retrospective effigy of him, dated to c. 1400, survives in the former priory, now the parish church of St Bartholomew the Great. The hospital had a complicated beginning and was considered as part of the priory foundation until the early thirteenth century when the hospital began to form a distinct, and separate, community. However, it was not until 1373 that Simon Sudbury, as bishop of London, formally re-organized the relationship between the priory and the hospital when he gave the hospital burial rights in a newly consecrated cemetery. This was restricted to those who died within the bounds of the hospital, that is within the precinct, and also non-parishioners living in the adjacent parish of St Sepulchre.⁵² So there are no recorded burials before the mid-fourteenth century and the earliest recorded burial

⁵¹ I am very grateful to Caroline Barron for providing me with copies of her notes on St Bartholomew's Hospital and the copy of her lecture 'Who was my neighbour in medieval London?' delivered at 'The Experience of Neighbourliness in Europe, 1000-1600' conference at the University of Bath, 17-18 May, 2012. This information has been of particular help in understanding the 'parish' nature of the hospital for those resident in its precinct.

⁵² Barron and Davies, 151-52.

is that of Rosa Upton in 1398 who requested burial in the hospital cemetery.⁵³ Fifteenth century wills show testators choosing to be buried inside the hospital church, dedicated to the Holy Cross, as well as in the cemetery. For example, the goldsmith Roger Cringleford (d. 1410) asked to be buried in the tomb of his wife, Ellen, in the Lady Chapel;⁵⁴ another goldsmith, John Baldwyn (d. 1414) also asked to be buried in a specific tomb – which he had paid for - where his late wife, Johanna, was interred;⁵⁵ and Cecily (d. 1431), the widow of William Pounfrete a skinner (d. 1428), instructed that she was to be buried in the Lady Chapel in the tomb with her late husband and under his gravestone.⁵⁶ These London couples, who sought burial in particular places in the church of the Holy Cross, show the popularity of the hospital as a place of interment in the early fifteenth century. These Londoners were almost certainly tenants in the nearby precinct which explains their wish to be buried in Holy Cross church.⁵⁷

The late grant of burial rights to St Bartholomew's Hospital explains why there are no recorded monuments before the fifteenth century. But table 5 also shows that the written sources, where Stow seems to have relied upon an earlier heralds' list, were selective about the tombs they recorded. For example, this table suggests that there were only three tombs for Londoners, Thomas Bole (d. 1427), citizen and ironmonger, Robert Warner (d. 1439) and his widow Margaret (d. 1441) and Alice wife of Nicholas Bayley who had predeceased her husband before his

⁵³ LMA, MS 9051/1 f. 4v.

⁵⁴ LMA, MS 9051/1 ff.9r-9v.

⁵⁵ LMA MS 9171/2 f.281

⁵⁶ LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 298v.

⁵⁷ Cringleford certainly was, N.J.M. Kerling, ed., *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital* (London, 1973), Appendix 1, 153-154.

death in 1486.⁵⁸ Yet we have seen that other Londoners in their wills made clear that they wanted to be buried in the church of the Holy Cross when they referred to their pre-existing tombs. These monuments were evidently not considered to be sufficiently interesting or distinctive to record by the sixteenth century.

Table 5: The tombs from the church of the Hospital of St Bartholomew

	pre 1349	1350- 99	1400- 49	1450- 99	1500- 40	1540 post	n.d.	Total
Gentry (inc. civil servants)			3	10			9	22
Clergy			2	3	1			6
Londoners			2	1				3
No description			1	1			5	7
								38

Table 5 shows that there was only one recorded tomb between 1500 and 1540, the ‘fair plated stone’ (a brass) for Abbot Richard Lye (d. 1512) of Shrewsbury. According to his inscription, Lye died while attending Parliament.⁵⁹ This entry was omitted from Stow’s *Survey* which suggests that Stow did not personally visit the newly formed parish church of St Bartholomew the Little, created during the Reformation from the church of the Holy Cross at St Bartholomew’s Hospital. Instead he relied upon the manuscript evidence of the

⁵⁸ Stow’s *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 234 (Bole); Ibid, 232 (Warner and Bayley).

⁵⁹ Ibid, vol 1, book 3, 234. Lye’s date of death was misread as he died in 1512, see D. M. Smith, ed., *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 1377-1540* (Cambridge, 2008), 70. I thank Martin Heale for alerting me to this reference and for his discussion on Abbot Lye.

earlier heralds' visitation to form his list of burial entries from the church of this dissolved religious hospital.

While few in number, the monuments are rich in detail. The earliest recorded tomb was the brass of John Bury, master in 1417, who adopted a conventional memorial.⁶⁰ The inscription was the standard 'Hic iacet' composition popular on brasses and recorded him as the master of the hospital, gave his date of death, 28 September 1417 and ended with the usual 'on whose soul may God have mercy'. John Strype recorded this brass by the communion table which suggests that Bury was buried before the High Altar. There are no recorded monuments for either of his immediate successors, John White (master 1418-23) and John Wakeryng (master 1423-66) although they too were probably buried alongside Bury. This is especially strange since Wakeryng who had been master for forty-three years and had played a prominent role in developing the precinct much as his friend John Neel at St Thomas of Acre.

None of the written sources recorded the exact burial place of Sir Thomas Malefant (d. 1438) within the church but we know from his widow Margaret's will that this too was before the High Altar.⁶¹ Here they were both commemorated by a brass which was recorded by the three principal sources, Stow, Weever and Strype.⁶² Although they did not describe the appearance of the tomb, both Weever

⁶⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 233.

⁶¹ LMA, MS 9171/4 f. 166r.

⁶² Stow's *Survey* (1603), ii, 377; Weever (1631), 435; Strype, Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 232.

and Strype copied down the inscription which began with 'Hic iacet'. This suggests the tomb was either a monumental brass or an incised slab. Sir Thomas was described as 'Baron de Winwore', and to his lordships in Wales were noted alongside his date of death, 8 May 1438.⁶³ The inscription also included the name of his widow, Margaret, and their sons Edmund and Henry, although without recording their dates of death. This monument was probably placed over Sir Thomas' grave soon after his death which explains why Margaret's date of death was omitted. Their burial before the High Altar marks them as important benefactors to the church and is borne out further by other commemorative actions made by Dame Margaret in her will dated 1445. She bequeathed 20s to the master and brothers of the Hospital to include her name in their martyrology (a form of bede roll) and also a piece of velvet to make a cope for the church in memory of Thomas, Margaret and their son Henry. Because all three were also included on the brass inscription, this suggests that Margaret was also responsible for commissioning the brass and that the two commemorative mediums may have been intended to be used together, the cope to be worn during the annual commemorative mass near the grave.

The Malefant inscription also recorded that Dame Margaret was the daughter of Thomas Asteley who was described as 'Dominus de Asteley'. Her mother, Joan Asteley, the former nurse of Henry VI, was living in the precinct in the close at St Bartholomew's in 1456 and had been left a bequest in her daughter's

⁶³ No such barony of Winwore is referred in the *CP* and it is likely that Malefant was a gentry lord of the manor or a Welsh or Irish peer.

will.⁶⁴ It seems likely, therefore, that mother, daughter and son-in-law, were all at one time living in the precinct which explains the Malefant burials and memorial in the church of the Holy Cross. None of the written accounts referred to the tomb of Joan Asteley but this may not have been of sufficient interest to have been recorded.

A comparison between the known tenants living in St Bartholomew's precinct with those who had a tomb recorded in the hospital church of the Holy Cross, show that many residents were buried and commemorated in what became, in a sense, their 'parish church'. One of the earliest monuments was for William Markby (d. 1439), described as a gentleman, and his wife Alice (d. 1479). Markby was educated at Lincoln's Inn and was a member of the legal profession, serving as a filacer of the court of common pleas.⁶⁵ In his will he asked to be buried in the choir at St Bartholomew's, and amongst his executors he named the master, John Wakeryng (master 1423-66) with whom he had presumably already arranged for his interment in this prestigious place. Markby left 40s. for his burial in the choir and set aside another 60s. for a marble slab to be set over his grave.⁶⁶ This slab survives and contains effigies for Markby and his wife Alice shown in the style and dress of the time, and with an inscription recording who they were and with a censored request for God to have mercy on their souls, **figure 8.3**.⁶⁷ Alice later

⁶⁴ Kerling, *The Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, 153.

⁶⁵ A.F. Sutton, 'Alice Domenyk-Markby-Shipleyn of St Bartholomew's Hospital Close and Isleworth: The Inheritance, Life and Tribulations of an Heiress', *The Ricardian*, 20 (2010), 23-65.

⁶⁶ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 203r-204v.

⁶⁷ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, p. 232. This brass had a narrow escape and was stolen in 1998 before being found in the market in Portobello Road, retrieved and returned to the parish church of St Bartholomew the Little, D. Chivers, 'The Theft and Recovery of a Brass', *Bulletin of the*

married Richard Shipley (d. 1445) and then Thomas Portaleyn (alive 1456) and died a widow in 1479. Shipley was also buried in St Bartholomew's Hospital but the whereabouts of Portaleyn's grave are unknown. It is thought he was killed fighting for the Lancastrians at Barnet in 1471.⁶⁸ Alice, in her will, asked to be buried with her husband in the choir at St Bartholomew's.⁶⁹ It is not clear whether she meant Markby or Shipley because both were buried in this church. It is likely that it was with her first husband, William Markby, on whose brass she was already commemorated, but this may simply have been a cenotaph for her, and she was in fact buried with Shipley.

The Markbys leased a property in the precinct in St Bartholomew's Close from the time of their marriage in 1427 until Alice's death fifty two years later. It served as town house and both her later husbands were content to live there also.⁷⁰ Through this connection, her second husband, Richard Shipley (d. 1445) came to choose to be buried in the church of Holy Cross at St Bartholomew's Hospital. Shipley was, like Markby, a filacer of the court of common pleas and in his will he asked to be buried in this church, if he died in London but without giving any instructions about a memorial.⁷¹ Shipley did in fact die in London because

Monumental Brass Society, 80 (1999), 413-414. There is no date for the erasure of the Catholic script but it was almost certainly during the 1640s when we know commissions were sent out with this their main objective, see T. Cooper, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2001), 492 n. 640. The parish records for All Hallows Barking by the Tower, for example, note this taking place in 1642.

⁶⁸ Sutton, 'Alice Domenyk-Markby-Shipley-Portaleyn', 59.

⁶⁹ LMA, MS 9171/6 ff. 282v-283r.

⁷⁰ Sutton, 'Alice Domenyk-Markby-Shipley-Portaleyn', 50-57.

⁷¹ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 253v-254r. Instead, Shipley left a number of items, including a gilded silver chalice, 'to have specially in Remembrance and prayers'. Shipley's testamentary preference was apparently for functional acts of remembrance perhaps because the arrangements for his tomb had already been discussed with Alice, whom he appointed his sole executor.

Strype described his tomb as 'a fair stone' just after the entrance to the middle aisle of the choir. From this description it is clear that the 'fair stone' was another brass upon which was written:

Hic vir pacificus Shipley Richardus humatur,
Verus catholicus, domus haec hoc testificatur.
Esurientes ac sitientes namque fovebat,
Pace fruentes, justa petentes corde gerebat.
C quarter et mille, X et MV (sic) cadit ille
Luce Maii deca tur que monas; sit humus sibi mater,
Coniux postque sua finivit, Alicia flamen,
Quos manus tua salvet precor O Deus. Amen.⁷²

(Richard Shipley is buried here, a man of peace
A true believer, as this house testifies.
He cared for the hungry and the thirsty,
He loved those who enjoyed peace and sought justice.
He died in the year one thousand four hundred and forty-five,
On the thirty-first day of May. May the earth be his mother.
His wife, and after he had died, the keeper of his memory, is
Alice;
I pray that your hand, O God, may save them. Amen)

As 'the keeper of his memory', Alice was responsible for his remembrance and from the text of the inscription, she certainly fulfilled her responsibilities by commissioning such a distinctive epitaph which would almost certainly be noticed and admired. Perhaps as 'keeper' Alice also intended to be buried with him. This inscription was very different from the standardized 'Hic iacet' on earlier brass memorials set up in this church. Shipley's epitaph appears to have been the first of a series of eye-catching epitaphs used to commemorate important burials in the church in the middle years of the fifteenth century. Shipley's neighbour, the celebrated nonagenarian, John Shirley (d. 1456) also had a distinctive

⁷² Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 233.

commemorative text which was written in English and commemorated Shirley together with his second wife Margaret:

Beholde how ended is our poore pilgrimage,
Of John Shirely Esquire, with Margaret his wife,
That xii children had together in marriage,
Eight sonnes and foure daughters withouten strife,
That in honor, nurtur, and labour flowed in fame,
His pen reporteth his lives occupation,
Since Pier his life time, John Shirely by name,
Of his degree, that was in Brutes Albion,
That in the yeare of grace deceased from hen,
Fourteene hundred winter, and sixe and fiftie,
In the yeare of his age, fourscore and ten,
Of October moneth, the day one and twenty.⁷³

This inscription is important as it was one of only a handful of epitaphs recorded by John Stow in his *Survey*. Stow owned several of Shirley's manuscripts and it is perhaps not surprising that he took such an interest in the Shirley inscription.⁷⁴ Stow also described this monument as set in brass with effigies of Shirley and his wife, Margaret, shown 'in the habit of pilgrims'. This brief description suggests that the Shirleys influenced the style of their effigies, as pilgrims, on the brass, as well as the text on the inscription. It was unusual to portray the commemorated as a pilgrim and this suggests that the imagery, as well as the text, was to be a distinctive and bespoke commission.⁷⁵ The Shirleys' commemorative strategy was to be eye-catching. But it is unclear who was responsible for the commission. In his will, Shirley did not refer to his commemoration although he did ask to be buried in the Lady Chapel at St Bartholomew's Hospital next to the grave of his mother

⁷³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), ii, 377-37.

⁷⁴ See the entry by Jeremy Griffiths, *ODNB*, 50, 396-397.

⁷⁵ I am grateful to Nigel Saul for his comments on pilgrims on brasses.

(whose name was not given), his first wife Elizabeth and his deceased children.⁷⁶

But like Shipley eleven years earlier, Shirley appointed his widow, Margaret, to be his sole executor. It is likely that she, like Alice Shipley, arranged the memorial for herself and her husband.

The role played by executors in this close-knit community is apparent through a study of the wills of those who lived in St Bartholomew's Close. One popular executor was Richard Sturgeon, Clerk of the Crown (d.1456) who acted for Robert Warner (d. 1439) and his wife Margaret (d. 1441) and also for William Markby (d. 1439).⁷⁷ We know from the will of Margaret Warner that she wanted to be buried under the marble stone which covered her husband's grave: this was almost certainly a monumental brass. And we know that Markby also had a brass because it survives. Whether or not Sturgeon was involved in the commission of these memorials, or it was left to the widows, is unclear. But his role as executor probably brought him into contact with the workshops concerned, even if he only signed off the expenditure. Sturgeon's tenement was previously occupied by the goldsmith, Robert Cringleford, who had died in 1410 and who was buried in the church. Sturgeon himself died in 1456 which suggests he was an established member of this community for almost fifty years and a popular neighbour. Like Shipley and Shirley he was buried in the Hospital church and commemorated by a distinctive epitaph which was recorded by Strype as located 'by the pilgrim and his

⁷⁶ LMA, MS 9171/5 f. 213r. This is printed in M. Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth Century England* (Aldershot, 1998), Appendix 2, 204-205.

⁷⁷ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 199r-199v (Robert Warner); LMA, MS 9171/4 f. 103v (Margaret Warner); TNA: PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 203r-204v (William Markeby).

wife' an indication that it was next to the grave of John and Margaret Shirley in the Lady Chapel. In his will, Sturgeon asked to be buried in the Lady Chapel in the church of Holy Cross where his wife Joan was already buried.⁷⁸ The reference to his memorial next to Shirley's tomb shows that Sturgeon's testamentary wishes concerning his burial were carried out.

Sturgeon, like Shipley and Shirley, was commemorated by a more notable inscription than the ordinary and standardized text on the Malefant and Markby brasses of the 1430s. Sturgeon's epitaph read:

Hic vir Catholicus bonus ecce Richardus humatur
Sturgeon pacificus quem mors rapuisse probatur,
Armiger hic Regis fuit, & vir Nobilitatis,
Mandatum legis servans, celsa probitatis.
Annis trigenis fit Clericus ipse Caronae
Et quivis plene hunc cape Christe bone.
Mille, quarter centum semel L sex tempore Christi.
Dat fundamentum quindena Martius isti,
Uxor ejus cui iam bona jungitur ecce Joanna,
Ut capiant dona Caelorum Jesus Hosanna.⁷⁹

(Here is buried Richard Sturgeon, a good Catholic, man of peace, whom death is shown to have snatched away. He was esquire of the King, and a man of nobility, serving the commandment of the law, of the highest integrity; for thirty years he was Clerk to the Crown, and [served] fully. O good Christ, take this man. The fifteenth of March gives a tomb for this man in the time of Christ 1456. To whom his good wife Joanna was joined; Hosanna, Jesus, may they receive the gifts of the heavens)

⁷⁸ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/4 ff. 65r-65v.

⁷⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 233. This is the text corrected by Strype.

These elaborate commemorative texts suggest that several of the residents of St Bartholomew's Close were literate in Latin as well as English and keen to be remembered with rather sophisticated and stylistic epitaphs, different from earlier memorials in the church and from the traditional 'off the shelf' compositions found in other London churches.

But there were others. From Strype's edition of the *Survey* we learn of the burials and tombs for the brethren from St Bartholomew's Hospital. We have already seen that the earliest recorded tomb was that of John Bury, master in 1417, who was buried with a standard 'Hic iacet' inscription on his brass. Strype shows that the distinctive texts, popular with the laity in the precinct in the 1440s and 1450s, were in evidence up to 1470 when they were used for the canons associated with the hospital. The inscription to John Nedham, master 1466-70, is striking:

John vir honoratus jacet hic Nedham tumulatus,
Qui prudens, gratus justus fuit & moderatus.
Fratribus ille suis fuerat prae quatuor Annis,
Quem mors crudelis 29 q; Decembris
MC quater Domini septem simul X numerandi,
Cujus spiritui sint Coeli gaudia regni.⁸⁰

(John Nedham, an honourable man, lies here buried;
he was prudent, pleasing, just and moderate.
He was superior over his brethren for four years,
whom cruel death [took away] on the 29 December,
[in the year] of the Lord 1470;
may the joys of the kingdom of heaven come to his spirit)

⁸⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 233.

The composition of this epitaph is interesting because it could have been written during Nedham's lifetime. The ending 'numerandi' could have been associated with any year of death as could 'regni'. It is tempting to speculate that Nedham was the anonymous epigrammatist who was responsible for his own commemorative inscription and those of some of his lay neighbours. There is a distinct change in the style of recorded epitaphs after his death and there are no other recorded examples of such literary finery. During the 1470s there were two inscriptions recorded for the hospital clergy, one of which was for William Knight (d. 1473) who had succeeded Nedham as Master. He was recorded with some brevity:

The xiiii [hundred] yere of our Lord seventy and three,
Passyd Sir William Knyght to God Almightye;
The fifteenth dey of Iuil; Master of thie place.
lesu for his mercy reioyce hym with his grace.⁸¹

This tomb, like those of the other former masters of St Bartholomew's Hospital, was recorded by Strype under the Communion Table and so he too therefore enjoyed burial before the High Altar.⁸² But the inscription is different from that of Nedham and almost certainly composed by a different hand. An almost exact copy of Knight's inscription was recorded for one of the canons, Robert Grevill, who died in 1480:

The xiiii [hundred] yere of our Lord and eight[y],
Passyd Sir Robert Greuil to God Almighty[y],
The xii dey of April: Broder of this place,
lesu for his mercy reioice him with his grace.⁸³

⁸¹ Weever (1631), 435.

⁸² Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 233.

⁸³ Weever (1631), 435.

There were no other distinctive texts and the new more florid style does not seem to have appealed to the later residents in the Close for their own monuments, or else the inscriptions were simply not recorded by Weever or Strype. Yet there was an evident outpouring of literary inventiveness which appealed to the residents in the precinct, who seem to have influenced each other in their choice of commemorative text and which may have been written by one of the brethren, as was the case with abbot John Whethampstead (d. 1465) at St Albans (Hertfordshire).⁸⁴ He was known to have composed several distinctive epitaphs for the monks and laity buried at St Albans.⁸⁵ The abbot also compiled other inscriptions including, for instance, for members of the Hertfordshire gentry including Thomas Frowyk (d. 1448) of South Mimms (Hertfordshire).⁸⁶ Wheathampstead's contemporary, Master Nedham, may have written similar texts for his neighbours at St Bartholomew's in London.

Tombs recorded in the church of the Holy Cross at St Bartholomew's Hospital show that they were mostly for those of gentry status and civil servants who needed a town house for their work in the city. There were very few Londoners and of the clergy buried in Holy Cross they were almost all those associated with the hospital itself. The exception is Abbot Lye of Shrewsbury but this may be explained by his sudden death in London which almost certainly took place in St Bartholomew's Hospital. The pre-dominance of burials for those who

⁸⁴ For Whethampstead see the entry by James G. Clark, *ODNB*, 58, 455-458.

⁸⁵ Weever (1631), 574.

⁸⁶ Jessica Freeman, 'The Commemorative Strategies of the Frowyks of Medieval London and Middlesex', *TMBS* (forthcoming).

can be shown to have been resident in the precinct shows that in a sense, the hospital church of Holy Cross was a “virtual parish” looking after the needs of this small community who clearly knew each other well and were involved in each other’s testamentary affairs as witnesses, executors and beneficiaries. There is a striking predominance of women in the precinct, and the role of widows as executors, is another characteristic feature of this tight-knit community. Through their role as executors they took an interest in the commissioning of monuments: the sophisticated epitaphs, used by laity and clergy alike, suggest that this was a particularly literate group who commissioned distinctive epitaphs.

The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre

The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre contained the largest number of tombs recorded in any one religious house in medieval London (see Table 4). There were forty-four known monuments noted by the written sources of which the majority (thirty-four) can be precisely dated. Of these, most are from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century which may, partly, be the result of the better survival of later medieval monuments at the time the heralds and antiquarians made their accounts.

The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre was reputedly founded by Theobald Fitz-theobald, husband of Agnes Becket, and brother in law of the murdered St Thomas

Becket (d. 1170).⁸⁷ The site of the former Becket home in the parish of St Mary Colechurch in Cheap was used in the early 1220s to found the London house for the hospitaller knights of St Thomas of Acre. The house was set in a large precinct, with a cemetery, and the building of the church was probably completed by about 1270. The foundation of a number of chantries there by Londoners in the late thirteenth century suggests that the citizenry quickly wished to associate themselves with the cult of St Thomas and in particular the site of his birthplace. Custody of the house was granted to the mayor and commonalty of the city in 1327.⁸⁸ This resulted in an increase in lay burials in the church such as, for example, Matilda, widow of William de Caxton, in 1342.⁸⁹ It is also at about this time that the mercers came to associate themselves with this particular house and they may have met in the great hall of the hospital from as early as 1348.⁹⁰ In that year one of their members, Thomas de Cavendish, asked to be buried in the church where he also endowed a chantry (later members of the Cavendish family would also choose to be buried in this house, see below). The fourteenth century association between the mercers and the hospital was the foundations upon which a long-standing association would evolve.

⁸⁷ For the foundation and history of St Thomas of Acre see, A. F. Sutton, 'The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre of London: The Search for Patronage, Liturgical Improvements, and a School under Master John Neel, 1420-63', in C. Burgess and M. Heale, eds, *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008), 199-229; Barron and Davies, 108-112; D. Keene, 'Introduction: The Mercers and Their Hall Before the Great Fire' in J. Imray *The Mercers Hall*, ed. A. Saunders, (The London Topographical Society, 143, 1991), 1-20. The foundation by the Becket family has been challenged by A.J. Forey, 'The military order of St Thomas of Acre', *English historical Review*, 92 (1977), 481-503 who has suggested that this was a fictitious claim used to promote the house in the 1440s.

⁸⁸ Barron and Davies, 109.

⁸⁹ HW, i, 458.

⁹⁰ Sutton, 'The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre of London', 200.

The earliest tomb recorded at St Thomas of Acre is that for Stephen Cavendish otherwise Pyke (d. 1372), apprentice to Thomas Cavendish. He requested burial in the choir at St Thomas of Acre and although he did not record the structure of his tomb, the location of this in the choir would imply that it was a flat stone, either incised or of brass.⁹¹ The inscription recorded his status as mayor of London.⁹² Cavendish's widow, Matilda, died in 1391 and likewise requested burial in the hospital church. She did not refer to her tomb but she asked to be buried alongside her husband.⁹³ There is no record of her monument.

Testamentary records suggest that, as was the case in churches elsewhere in medieval London, not all the tombs from St Thomas of Acre were recorded. In his will of 1408, the clothier Roger Salmon asked to be buried beneath the tomb stone in the hospital of St Thomas of Acre where his former wife, Christine, was buried. There is no record of the Salmon tomb in the heraldic or antiquarian accounts of this hospital.⁹⁴ We do, however, know that one of the sheriffs, the draper Thomas Pyke alias Garnon (sheriff 1410-11), was buried in his church.⁹⁵ His will has not survived but, it is also possible that he was buried in St Thomas of Acre because he was related to the draper, Stephen Cavendish: he may have been either his nephew, or his son the mercer and draper, known as Thomas Shelley alias Pyke alias Cavendish and that this tomb was part of a set of

⁹¹ HW, ii, 149.

⁹² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, p. 269. Cavendish served as mayor in 1362-63.

⁹³ LMA, MS 9171/1 f.169r-170r.

⁹⁴ LMA, MS 9051/1 ff. 9r-9v. I am grateful to Robert Wood for alerting me to this reference.

⁹⁵ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 269.

Cavendish memorials placed in the church.⁹⁶ The Pyke/Garnon tomb was recorded together with the Cavendish memorials and noted immediately after the tomb of William Cavendish (d. 1433) to whom he was perhaps related. It is thought that William was the son of Thomas Cavendish and grandson of Stephen.⁹⁷

More is known about William Cavendish, a mercer, because in his will of 1433 he gave instruction on the whereabouts of his grave, depending on where he died. If he were to die in London then he requested burial in the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre. If he died in Cavendish (Suffolk) then he was to be buried in the parish church of St Mary, there.⁹⁸ He left £20 for his burial which is a large amount for the cost of his interment and suggests that this sum may also have included the cost of a memorial. His tomb was later recorded by John Stow although he did not describe it.⁹⁹ One hundred years later, Cavendish's grandson, Sir Thomas Cavendish (d.1524), Clerk of the Pipe in the King's Exchequer, asked to be buried in the hospital of St Thomas of Acre 'in the north Ile of the quere next unto my grandfader William Cavendisshe'. If this was not possible then Sir Thomas asked to be buried elsewhere within the hospital church.¹⁰⁰ Most unusually Sir Thomas preferred burial with his grandfather rather than with either of his wives, both of whom were buried in the parish church of St Botolph Aldersgate.¹⁰¹ In this Sir Thomas was displaying his patrilineal concerns for his lineage and ancestry: he

⁹⁶ Stephen Cavendish left a bequest to his nephew, Thomas Pyke, in his will of 1372, see, HW, ii, 149. For Stephen's son, see A. F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578* (Aldershot, 2005), 120.

⁹⁷ I am grateful to Anne Sutton for her discussion of the Cavendish family.

⁹⁸ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/3 f. 141v.

⁹⁹ Stow's *Survey* (1603) i, 269.

¹⁰⁰ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/21 ff. 189r-189v.

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 4.

wished to be associated with the earlier burials of male members of the Cavendish family in St Thomas of Acre. Sir Thomas asked to be associated further with these earlier Cavendishes with 'a stone to lye upon my grave'. This request was fulfilled because the memorial (probably a brass) was later recorded by Stow in his account of the tombs in this church.¹⁰² Sir Thomas' son and heir, another William Cavendish, died bankrupt in 1557 and there is no record of his tomb.¹⁰³

Many of the tombs recorded at St Thomas of Acre are to be dated from after 1430, a period which coincides with the charismatic leadership of John Neel, Master of the Hospital between 1420 and his death in 1463. One of the earliest tombs erected during Neel's mastership was for Joan Butler (d. 1430), countess of Ormond. Her husband James, the fourth earl (d. 1452), was supposedly a descendant of Agnes Becket and it was this alleged descent that benefited both Ormond and Master Neel; the earl quickly became an important patron of the hospital and in return he was able to associate himself with the cult of London's most important saint. The tomb for the earl's wife must have been of some magnificence and richly decorated because it was included in the heraldic account of c. 1504 and heads their list of memorials in the hospital church. There is, however, some uncertainty about this Ormond tomb because the heralds recorded only the countess, whereas Stow added her husband, James, 'the White Earl', in his own account of this monument.¹⁰⁴ But 'the White Earl' was not in fact buried in St Thomas of Acre, having died near Dublin in 1452 and he was buried in the

¹⁰² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 269.

¹⁰³ For an account of Sir William Cavendish, see the entry by Sybil M. Jack in, *ODNB*, 10, 651-652.

¹⁰⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 269.

nearby abbey of St Mary.¹⁰⁵ It is possible that an effigy of the earl was commissioned to lie alongside that of his first wife, and that this was intended to form part of his funerary monument, but it seems unlikely that the heralds would have omitted to mention a memorial for a peer. It is more likely to have been a mistake by Stow who had also incorrectly recorded countess Joan's date of death as 1428 rather than 1430.

The Ormond connection with St Thomas of Acre was to continue in to the sixteenth century. The political turbulence of the latter part of the fifteenth century precluded further burials of the Butler earls of Ormond. James, son of the fourth earl, succeeded his father and was a committed Lancastrian who was executed in the aftermath of the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461. His brother, and heir, John died on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1477. It was the next brother, Thomas (d. 1515) who succeeded as the seventh earl and who chose to revive the Butler/Ormond association with St Thomas of Acre by arranging for his burial in the most prestigious of burial locations, on the north side of the High Altar.¹⁰⁶ Earl Thomas was particularly keen to be buried in the hospital church and emphasized that if he died at his Essex property, or within forty miles of London, then his body was to be brought to the city for burial in St Thomas of Acre.

The seventh earl's will is rich in detailed provision for his memorial. He arranged for a seven year obit for himself and his two wives and this was to be

¹⁰⁵ *CP*, x, 123-126.

¹⁰⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/18 ff.63v-65v.

performed annually on the date of his death. He also modified the terms of his parents' annual chantry by adding his name to it together with those of Anne (d. 1485) and Lora (d. 1501), his two wives. The earl also left unusual instructions concerning his Psalter:

Item I wyll that my Sawter boke covered with whyte lether and my name writtin with myn owne hand in thende of the same wych is at my lodging in London shalbe layed and fyxed with a cheyne of Iron at my Tombe wych is ordeyned for me in the said church of Saint Thomas Acon ther to remayne for the service of god in the said church the better to be hadde and done by suche personnes as shalbe disposed to occupye and loke upon the same boke.¹⁰⁷

These instructions are important for a number of reasons. This explains why the earl's burial in St Thomas of Acre was so important to him: he had already 'ordeyned' his tomb in the church and therefore wished to benefit from the commemorative arrangements which he had evidently negotiated during his lifetime. But perhaps more importantly, the earl bequeathed his psalter to be attached to his tomb. This was, without doubt, a deliberate strategy and perhaps intended to remind whoever read it to think about – and pray for – the dead earl. And likewise on his tomb was to be his epitaph, thus not only providing a practical record of who was commemorated on the monument, but also to remind the reader of the psalter of the name of earl. The terms of the earl's will were:

I wyll ther be ordeyned and sett an Epitafe makyng mencyon of me And the day and yere of my decesse And this to be doon by

¹⁰⁷ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/18 f. 64r.

the discrecyone of myne Executours not for any pompe of the
Worled but only for a remembrance.¹⁰⁸

From the inscription recorded by John Weever we know that the earl's executors fulfilled his request and that he was duly commemorated as intended.¹⁰⁹ Remembrance was important for earl Thomas and this was ensured by commemorative masses, the wording of his inscription and the attachment of his personal psalter to his tomb.

The Butler earls of Ormond are the only members of the aristocracy who desired burial and commemoration in this hospital church. In a sense it was because they were pseudo-Londoners, and wished to benefit as descendants of the Becket family, that they chose this: aristocratic burial in medieval London was otherwise largely confined to the mendicant houses.¹¹⁰ The house of St Thomas of Acre was however a popular burial place for Londoners and particularly during the tenure of Master Neel between 1420 and 1463. Anne Sutton has discussed the number of different enterprises and strategies which Neel used to achieve financial security for the hospital.¹¹¹ This shows Neel's ingenuity and direction which not only led to endowments and bequests but also to a visible change in the commemorative landscape of this church. The mercers, in particular, chose to be buried and commemorated at St Thomas of Acre. Anne Sutton has identified eighteen instances of mercer burial during the fifteenth century and of these

¹⁰⁸ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/18 f. 64r.

¹⁰⁹ Weever (1631), 400.

¹¹⁰ Chapters 5 and 6.

¹¹¹ Sutton, 'The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre of London', 199-229.

eighteen we know that six, William Cavendish (d. 1433), John Trussbut (d. 1439), John Norton (d. 1442), John Rich (d. 1458), Henry Frowyk (d. 1460) and Thomas Ilam (d. 1493) were commemorated by monuments.¹¹²

Of these tombs for mercers, the Cavendish family was exceptional in engineering an almost continual series of memorials for their patrilineal line. Other members of the Mercery adopted different strategies when they requested burial in St Thomas of Acre and some referred to their tombs in their wills. John Trussbut, for instance, a mercer with estates in Norfolk (d. 1439), requested a marble tomb with a brass over his grave.¹¹³ His wishes were carried out and this memorial was recorded by Stow.¹¹⁴ His colleague, John Norton who died three years later in 1442, did not indicate the nature of his own tomb but he was specific that he should be buried near to where he used to sit in the hospital church.¹¹⁵ This suggests that he was commemorated by a floor monument. Norton and his nephew, Thomas Dukmanton (d. 1446) another mercer, were important benefactors to St Thomas' and Neel was in fact one of Norton's executors and involved in setting up the three year chantry for which Norton had left instructions in his will. Dukmanton was buried before the altar of St Thomas in the nave although there is no record of his tomb.¹¹⁶ This is surprising given his bequest of £100 to have the area around the altar improved and his other testamentary

¹¹² Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 269 (Cavendish, Trusbutt, Norton, Rich and Ilam); Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 38 (Frowyk). The eighteen burials are discussed in, Sutton, *The Mercery of London*, pp. 170-171. I am grateful to Anne Sutton for providing me with her list of testators and their burial instructions.

¹¹³ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 88r-88v.

¹¹⁴ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 269.

¹¹⁵ LMA, MS 9171/4 ff. 100r-101v.

¹¹⁶ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/3 ff. 240v-241v.

bequests for prayers for himself and his family. Dukmanton also left instructions for a marble tomb to be commissioned for his mother's grave in St Nicholas, Bawtry (Yorkshire) and it would be surprising if he did not arrange for a memorial for himself as well. For Dukmanton, it might be that his burial and commemoration before such an important, and well visited, altar ultimately led to the inscription being worn by the time the later accounts were made.

One of the most striking instances of the commemorative aspirations of a London mercer is the case of alderman Henry Frowyk (d. 1460), a former mayor. Frowyk was a scion of the very extensive London and Middlesex Frowyk dynasty who were trading and serving the city from the mid-thirteenth century.¹¹⁷ In his will of 1460, Frowyk requested burial in the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre:¹¹⁸ his widow, Isabel (d. 1465) was to be buried with him but only his tomb is recorded.¹¹⁹ There seems to have been a change of intention because another memorial for alderman Frowyk was recorded in the parish church of St Benet Sherhog.¹²⁰ There were several members of the Frowyk family called 'Henry' but the testamentary request of alderman Henry to be interred in the hospital of St Thomas of Acre and the reference to his tomb there suggests that this was for the same person. This is either a deliberate strategy on the part of Frowyk, to have a memorial in his parish church, as well as over his grave in St Thomas of Acre, or it may represent a change of commemorative intention. Yet Frowyk seemed to have a particularly

¹¹⁷ Freeman 'The Commemorative Strategies of the Frowyks'.

¹¹⁸ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/4 ff. 153r-154v.

¹¹⁹ TNA:PRO, PROB 11/5 ff. 73r-74r. Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 38.

¹²⁰ Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 260.

ambitious strategy when it came to his remembrance. He had endowed a family chantry, with his brother Thomas, and his own son, also called Thomas, at St Giles, South Mimms (Hertfordshire) during the 1440s and another chantry was founded at St Thomas of Acre.¹²¹ Henry Frowyk also financed two choristers at the hospital, one of whom was to be known as 'Frowykes Querester'.¹²² This choir boy would thus maintain Frowyk's commemorative legacy by bearing the Frowyk name.¹²³ But perhaps most unusually Frowyk's name was one of those painted on one of the foundation stones laid at the Guildhall Chapel in 1440. These named stones were buried deep in the foundations and it has been suggested that the use of such hidden memorials was to provide a deliberate contrast to more public displays of piety and intercession and represented a private bond between the stone-layer and God.¹²⁴ Alderman Frowyk thus used many different commemorative mediums, both public and private, short term and long term, structural and through a scholarship, in order to be remembered for as long as possible.¹²⁵

The importance of St Thomas of Acre for burials of the mercers and their wives is particularly notable yet the wider civic association between London and this particular hospital may have been just as important. We have already noted

¹²¹ TNA, PRO: C143/45/30 (South Mimms chantry) and TNA:PRO, PROB 11/4 ff. 153r-154v (St Thomas of Acre chantry).

¹²² This is very similar to 'Turk's Children' at Michaelhouse, Cambridge, see above.

¹²³ HW, ii, 542.

¹²⁴ N. Holder, 'Medieval Foundation Stones and Foundation Ceremonies', in C. M. Barron and C. Burgess, eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), 6-23.

¹²⁵ Henry Frowyk was also represented in one of the series of aldermanic 'portraits' contained in a book of drawings which is generally thought to have been made by Robert Leigh (LMA, SC/GL/ALD/001) and which will shortly be published in the London Record Society series. I am grateful to Matthew Payne for his discussion on this drawing.

the gradual increase in the number of recorded tombs at St Thomas of Acre in Table 4. There were eleven between 1450-99 and a further fifteen in 1500-40. Of these twenty-six, there were nine for former sheriffs or mayors, viz., Henry Frowyk (d. 1460), Sir Thomas Hill (d. 1485), Thomas Northlond (d. 1486), Sir Edmund Shaa (d. 1488), Thomas Ilam (d. 1493), Ralph Tilney (d. 1503), William Browne (d. 1514), Sir Thomas Baldry (d. 1534) and Sir William Butler (d. 1534).¹²⁶ Four of these men, Frowyk, Ilam, Browne and Baldry were mercers and buried in St Thomas of Acre was not unusual for men of their craft, but Shaa was a goldsmith and the others, Hill, Northlond, Tilney and Butler were all grocers. This suggests that there were other reasons for Londoners, and especially those who had served in high office, to request burial in this hospital.

The will of Sir Edmund Shaa suggests a possible explanation for this. He gave very detailed instructions about the place of his burial: it was to be in the nave of St Thomas of Acre near the pillar which contained an image of St Michael the Archangel and before the altar of St Thomas.¹²⁷ His executors were to arrange for 'an honest marble stone' over this grave. Sir Edmund also requested that an altar where a priest would sing mass be made near to this pillar. This altar was to be enclosed with iron and to have an iron door which was to be locked when the altar was not in use. Shaa thus commissioned a cage chantry chapel at this grave. Sir Edmund, like many testators, listed the names of those included in the chantry service, being himself, his wife Julian, his parents (not named), Edward IV (d.

¹²⁶ Stow's *Survey* (1720), vol 1, book 3, 38 (Frowyk), Stow's *Survey* (1603), i, 269 (Hill, Northlond, Shaa, Ilam, Tilney, Browne, Baldry and Butler).

¹²⁷ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/8 ff. 95r-99v.

1483), Anne, duchess of Exeter (d. 1476) and William, earl of Pembroke (d. 1469). He also asked that during civic ceremonies and processions held at St Thomas of Acre, the iron door should be unlocked and that evensong be performed at this altar before the mayor and commonalty of London so that they 'may remember the poore soule of my body lying there entered'. Shaa had thus made arrangements for his gravestone, had set up a chantry chapel, listed the chantry beneficiaries and given instructions on the use of the chapel during civic ceremonies in St Thomas of Acre.

Shaa's testamentary instructions show that he wished to be associated in death, as he had in life, with civic ritual and ceremony. This was unusual. Of the other surviving wills only Hill requested a particular place within St Thomas of Acre which was also to be near to St Thomas altar.¹²⁸ But Shaa's detailed testamentary instruction affords an insight in to the importance of the hospital as a place of commemoration among the civic elite at the end of the fifteenth century. It is likely that the other civic officers who requested burial in St Thomas of Acre did so because of the important role the hospital church played during civic ceremonies and processions. The church was, for example, used during the annual procession which took place at the mayor's oath-taking, a ceremonial occasion when Sir Edmund Shaa wished to be remembered.¹²⁹ It is evident that burial in St Thomas of Acre was prestigious and was attractive to several other London crafts, and not just to the mercers. And the hospital church became an important place of burial

¹²⁸ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/7 ff. 131v-133r.

¹²⁹ Sutton, 'The Hospital of St Thomas of Acre of London', 200.

for those wishing to associate themselves with the cult of St Thomas Becket whether they were civic officers, wealthy mercers or peers of the realm promoting a dubious genealogical connection.

Conclusion

These three case studies have revealed some features in common with other medieval burial practice in the city. Londoners clearly associated themselves with particular institutions and at St Thomas of Acre this association had its origins in the cult of St Thomas Becket and the swift adoption by the mercers of the hall and chapel for their craft in the mid fourteenth century. This provided a foundation which their successors could build upon. As a result of this, some families, such as the Cavendishes, maintained a patrilineal commemorative association with the chapel for almost two hundred years. There were similar patterns in the east of the city where at Holy Trinity Aldgate, some Londoners maintained an association seen in their choice of burial in this prestigious house until c. 1400: there are also indications of dynastic mausoleums there, such as the Malewayn-Turk interments comparable to Cavendishes at St Thomas of Acre. But unlike the hospital-church of St Thomas, the Priory of Holy Trinity did not have an enterprising, and clearly energetic, master or prior to persuade benefactors and patrons from the urban class to choose to be buried and commemorated in the priory church in the late medieval period.

The energies of John Neel were impressive and he left his mark. His friendship and association with another energetic master, John Wakeryng, at the hospital of St Bartholomew in Smithfield, clearly influenced both men in their strategies to develop and enhance their communities. The formation of a mini-parish in the precinct in St Bartholomew's Close is a particularly striking achievement on the part of Wakeryng which was enthusiastically adopted by the tenants who lived closely alongside each other and who performed testamentary services, either as witnesses, executors or beneficiaries, for their neighbours. At St Bartholomew's, this literate community also appears to have benefited from a scribe who was employed to compose sophisticated, memorable and elaborate commemorative epitaphs to adorn their tombs. This clearly influenced others when they came to commission something similar for their own commemorations.

These case studies have also shown some notable testamentary practices associated with tombs and their commission. The activities at St Bartholomew's, for example, have shown that widows played a prominent part as the 'keepers of memory' as Alice Markeby-Shipley-Portaleyn is known to have done for two of her three husbands and, as an adjunct on Markeby's brass, for herself. Lady Malefant also seems to have taken care of her husband's commemorative needs and at the same time took the opportunity to include herself and their dead sons Edmund and Henry on the inscription. Her contemporary, Margaret Camp, undertook similar strategies for her recently deceased husband at Holy Trinity Priory where her various acts of memorialization were intended to complement the anniversary

services which were to take place at their grave. And of particular interest is the case of Sir Edmund Wighton who placed verbal trust on his executors by explaining to them the nature of the tomb which they were to commission for him and which we know was set over his grave. The use of a marbler as one of the executors may have been a deliberate choice but it ensured that Sir Edmund's commemorative aspirations were fulfilled.

But testamentary provision was not limited to instructions about the form of their tombs. In each of these three studies we have seen that many medieval Londoners considered their monuments to be part of a larger commemorative ideology and that other memorialization was used, in some cases to complement the physical tomb. Lady Malefant's gift of a cope containing the same names as those on the brass inscription is one such instance; the endowment of scholars who took the testator's name was a strategy employed by Sir Robert Turk and with Henry Frowyk; and alderman Frowyk, himself, appears to have gone to remarkably detailed and extensive lengths to maintain his remembrance, both public and private, short term and long term both in the parish and among his associates, friends, neighbours and God. Other instances show how the practical function of graves and tombs could evolve and be adapted to meet individual concerns. As in the case of alderman Frowyk at St Thomas of Acre, Sir Edmund Shaa went to some lengths to create an altar at his grave, caged with iron, with a lockable door and which was to be used during particular civic services. In this way he thus associated himself not just with the intercessory religious services of the altar, but

also in the corporate civic memory after his death. Shaa wanted to be remembered by God and by his successors as mayor. And to a lesser extent, Thomas, earl of Ormond, also wanted to be remembered before God when his psalter, chained to his effigy was opened and read. Monuments and memory in the religious houses of London dovetailed together to form an impressive and diverse collection of different commemorative enterprises.

Conclusion

London was as much a city of the dead as it was of the living. Tombs were commissioned in abundance; incised slabs and monumental brasses were an impressive, and eye-catching, feature of almost every city church. The sculptured effigies of royalty, of founders and of benefactors, of knights and of wealthy Londoners (who had taken pride in their elevation to the knightly class), were set in recesses in the choirs, before the High Altars, and as the centre-pieces of newly built chapels. There is much greater evidence for these lost monuments than was at first thought: the richness of the written accounts has revealed 2,396 recorded monuments from the city of London in the years between 1140 and 1540; most are from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Given the selectivity of particular sources, especially those written by the heralds and by John Stow in his *Survey of London*, and the impermanence of medieval urban monuments, this is only a snapshot of an even greater heritage.

This thesis has shown that there were more instances of pre-Reformation loss of monuments in medieval London that has previously been realised. Rebuilding enterprises in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, mean that this loss was inevitable. The loss was also natural: the durability of floor memorials was brief and these were vulnerable to wear and tear and removal. Fulfillment of testamentary obligations, the exhumation of benefactors for reburial in new buildings, the transplantation of executed noblemen and the endeavours of widows

seeking to preserve the memory of their dead husbands, meant that monuments were not always permanent. Perhaps they were never intended to be. We have also seen that routine sales of old and unwanted tombs were recorded in churchwardens' accounts: pressure on graves space in the medieval city was evident and was one of the reasons why the Greyfriars themselves compiled their own burial list in the 1520s.

This thesis has revealed how particular groups chose to be buried in particular locations: Londoners, for example, were naturally inclined to be buried in their own parish church. Yet Londoners also had interests elsewhere: the mercers, for example, were drawn to the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre adjacent to their hall but also chose to be buried in their parish churches of St Alban Wood Street and St Lawrence Jewry. The popularity of burial for wealthy Londoners in the Pardon churchyard of St Paul's was also marked: across the road at the Grey Friars, other wealthy London tradesmen and their families came to dominate burial space in the nave of the Franciscan convent. From its very beginnings in the early thirteenth century the Friars Minor in Newgate enjoyed a special relationship with the city which endured until 1538.

Members of the royal family, as founders, were likewise drawn to the mendicant houses as places of burial and commemoration. Royalty led to a 'his and hers' relationship between the Black Friars, re-founded by Edward I and the burial site for the hearts of his family, and the Grey Friars, re-founded by Queen

Margaret, and which led to this Franciscan house becoming the preferred resting place for subsequent generations of royal daughters and granddaughters. The influence of royalty in turn influenced the aristocracy who chose to be buried alongside the royal family and this in turn led to the burial of knights, their wives and their children in the mendicant houses of medieval London. The strength of this tradition was such that when the interests of royalty and nobility were directed elsewhere, newly elevated members of the aristocracy maintained this tradition. We have seen the lengths to which one family, the Blounts, went in order to ensure their appropriation of the Apostles Chapel at the Grey Friars and the commissioning and re-commissioning of monuments commensurate with their new status. This was also the case for those from overseas who died while in London and who were buried in the mendicant churches. These international orders, with houses throughout Europe and England, were familiar to visiting aliens and offered a suitable place for burial away from home.

Brasses commissioned for the clergy in London are distinctive in their detail and elaboration. This thesis has shown the popularity for such memorials for the friars themselves in the Grey Friars and also for the canons and many bishops of London in the Cathedral Church of St Paul's. Their desire for distinctive, and eye-catching, memorials was the greater because they did not have children or descendants to look after their spiritual needs and were reliant on the kindness of strangers and their clerical successors. The few clerical inscriptions which were noted at the White Friars, and at the church of the Holy Cross at St Bartholomew's

Hospital, also show the creativity of distinctive inscriptions which would have been eye-catching and noticeable to the reader. The distinctiveness of such impressive epitaphs was another means by which memorials for the clergy would attract attention.

Those gentry without a parish church in London usually chose to be buried in London's monasteries and religious houses. The creation of a mini-parish in the precinct of St Bartholomew's Close has shown how this small community came to act as executors and witnesses to their neighbours' wills and chose to be buried in the church of Holy Cross in the Hospital precinct. They were a community within a community without parish loyalty, and this church responded to their needs well. It was also a community which chose to commission unusual and distinctive epitaphs, perhaps from the pen of one of the Hospital Masters, John Nedham. Burials from this 'virtual parish' were similar to the interments and tombs commissioned at the Grey Friars and other mendicant houses where the commemoration of visitors to the city, of those without a parish, is also noticeable.

Tombs were not the only memorials for men and women who were buried in medieval London. This thesis has also revealed the practice of multiple-commemoration whereby the gravestone was over the body and another memorial was established elsewhere, sometimes near to the location of the chantry in another church. Monuments were thus part of a much broader commemorative system. The use of foundation stones and the role of hidden memory was one

strategy; the tomb also played a part during the intercessory service, and processions to and around the monument are recorded as part of the instructions to executors in wills, and noted in churchwardens' accounts; the endowment of scholars, to be named after the benefactor, was another strategy adopted as a means of remembrance; and at St Leonard Eastcheap in particular, we have seen how glass was used to record the names of parishioners, including the wealthy Dogett family who, for almost two hundred years, used a variety of commemorative strategies to draw attention to themselves generation by generation. London's churches, monasteries, friaries and the old Cathedral of St Paul's were enriched with a truly spectacular commemorative landscape.

Appendix 1: Surviving memorials from the city of London, c. 1140-1540

Key:

C = The monument is extant in a parish church.

P = A brass taken from a city church which has been reused elsewhere as a palimpsest.

(source, John Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols (London, 1980). Not all burial churches have been identified but it is taken that for those described as a citizen of London, these deceased were most likely buried in the city).

A = Found during archaeological excavations.

Key	Parish Location	Type	Date	Christian Name(s)	Status	Will	Will Instructions for Tomb
C	Priory of St Bartholomew Smithfield	Effigy	1143 x5	Rahere	Founder and 1st Prior of St Bartholomew Smithfield	No	No
C	Temple Church	Effigy	1144	Geoffrey de Mandeville	Earl of Essex	No	No
C	Temple Church	Effigy	1219	William Marshall	Earl of Pembroke	No	No
C	Temple Church	Effigy	1226x27	Robert de Ros	Templar knight	No	No
C	Temple Church	Effigy	1231	William Marshall	Earl of Pembroke	No	No
C	Temple Church	Effigy	1241	Gilbert Marshall	Earl of Pembroke	No	No
C	Temple Church	Effigy	1255	Sylvester de Everdon	Bishop of Carlisle	No	No
A	St Paul's Cathedral (now Museum of London)	Cross slab	c.1250- c.1325	Unknown			
A	College of Our Lady in the Guildhall Chapel (now Museum of London)	Incised slab	1280 x1305	Godfrey le Troupour	Trumpeter	No	No

A	St Swithin (now Museum of London)	Incised slab	1306 (before)	Joan de St Edmonds	2nd wife of Sir Fulk de St Edmonds, sheriff 1289/90 (d. 1306x07)	No	No
A	St Christopher le Stocks (now Victoria and Albert Museum)	Incised slab	c.1305-c.1325	Unknown			
C	All Hallows Barking	Monumental brass	1389	William Tong	M.P., alderman, citizen and vinter	Yes	No
C	St Helen's Bishopsgate	Monumental brass	1393	Robert Cotesbrook		Yes	No
C	St Martin Outwich (now St Helen Bishopsgate)	Effigy	c. 1400	John de Oteswich and wife (name unknown)	Merchant (?)	No	No
P	St Mildred Poultry (now St Margaret, Barley, Herts.)	Monumental brass	1403	Richard Pecok and wife Isabel	Citizen and armourer	Yes	No
P	St Lawrence Jewry ? (now St Mary, Etchingam, Sussex)	Monumental brass	1405	Thomas Austin	son of Thomas Austin, citizen and mercer	No	No
P	St Magnus (now All Saints, Binfield, Berks.)	Monumental brass	1406	William Brampton	Citizen and stockfishmonger	Yes	No
P	St George (now Holy Cross, Great Greenford, Middx.)	Monumental brass	1411	Richard FitzAndrew and wife Margaret	Citizen and Fishmonger	Yes	No
P	St Paul's Cathedral (now Assumption of the BVM, Twyford, Bucks.)	Monumental brass	1416	William Storetford	Canon of St Paul's	No	No
P	Convent of the Franciscans (now Magdalen College, Oxford)	Monumental brass	1432	Margery Chamberlain	wife of William Chamberlain		
C	All Hallows Barking	Monumental brass	1437	John Bacon and wife Joan	Citizen and woolman	Yes	No

C	Hospital of St Bartholomew Smithfield	Monumental brass	1439	William Markeby and wife Alice	Gentleman	Yes	No
P	Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate (now St Mary, Waterperry, Oxon.)	Monumental brass	1442	Simon Kempe otherwise Camp and wife Margaret	Esquire	Yes	No
P	Unknown city church (now St Margaret, Barking, Essex)	Monumental brass	1442	John Pecok and wife Lucy	Citizen and vintner	No	No
P	St Dunstan in the West (now St John the Baptist, Little Missenden, Bucks.)	Monumental brass	1446	William Chapman and wife Alice	Citizen and tailor	Yes	No
C	Hospital of St Katherine by the Tower (now in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London)	Effigy	1447	John Holland and his wives, Anne and Anne	Duke of Exeter	Yes	No
P	St Mary Aldermay ? (now St Mary Magdelene, Great Hampden, Bucks.)	Monumental brass	c. 1450	John Lynde and wife Margery	Churchwarden of St Mary Aldermay	No	No
C	All Hallows Barking	Monumental brass	1453	Thomas Virley	Vicar of All Hallows Barking	Yes	No
C	St Stephen Walbrook	Retrospective tablet	1454	John Dunstable	Master of Astronomy and Music	No	No
P	Unknown city church (now St Mary and All Saints, Ockham, Surrey)	Monumental brass	1462	Edward Warmington	Citizen and grocer	No	No
C	St Helen's Bishopsgate	Effigy	1475	John Crosby and wife Agnes	Knight, Alderman, Citizen and grocer	Yes	Yes
C	All Hallows Barking	Monumental brass	1477	John Croke and wife Margaret	Alderman, citizen and skinner	Yes	No

P	Unknown city church (now St Giles, Camberwell, Surrey)	Monumental brass	1480 ?	John Ratford	Citizen and glover	No	No
C	St Martin Outwich (now St Helen Bishopsgate)	Monumental brass	1482	Nicholas Wotton	Rector of St Martin Outwich	No	No
C	All Hallows Barking	Monumental brass	1483	Thomas Gilbert and wife Agnes	Draper and Merchant of the Staple	Yes	No
P	Unknown city church (now All Saints, Kings Langley, Herts.)	Monumental brass	1487	John Marsburgh	Citizen and bowyer	No	No
P	St Martin Orgar (now St Mary, Northolt, Middx.)	Monumental brass	1490	William Wilkins	Citizen and brewer	Yes	No
P	St Faith (now St Mary Magdelen, Great Hampden, Bucks.)	Monumental brass	1490	Richard Tabbe and wife Agnes	Citizen and stationer	No	No
C	St Helen's Bishopsgate	Monumental brass	1495	Thomas Wylliams and wife Margaret	Gentleman	Yes	No
C	All Hallows Barking	Monumental brass	1498	John Rusche	Gentleman	Yes	No
C	St Martin Outwich	Canopied tomb	1500	Hugh Pemberton and wife Katherine	Alderman and merchant taylor	Yes	No
P	Convent of the Dominicans (now Holy Trinity, Blatherwyck, Northants.)	Monumental brass	after 1504	Jasper Filiol and wife Joan		No	No
P	St Margaret Lothbury (later St Peter in the East, Oxford, and now the library of St Edmund Hall, Oxford)	Monumental brass	1505	John Chittock	Citizen and draper	Yes	Yes
P	Unknown city church (now St Peter, Berkhamstead, Herts.)	Monumental brass	1505 ?	Humphrey Thomas and wife Joan	Citizen and goldsmith	No	No

P	Hospital of St Thomas of Acre (now SS Peter and Paul, Shorne, Kent)	Monumental brass	1506	John Hall and wife Katherine	Citizen and grocer	Yes	No
P	Convent of the Franciscans (now St Mary, Northiam, Sussex)	Monumental brass	1506	Thomas Hastings and wife Agnes	Citizen & Fishmonger of London	Yes	No
P	Convent of the Dominicans (now at St John the Baptist, Hillingdon, Middx.)	Monumental brass	1509	Thomas Brandon	KG	Yes	No
P	Convent of the Carmelites (now St Mary, Standon, Herts.)	Monumental brass	1510	Richard Empson	Knight	No	No
C	St Helen's Bishopsgate	Monumental brass	1510	John Leventhorpe	Esquire	No	No
P	Hospital of St Thomas of Acre (now Westminster Abbey)	Monumental brass	1512	Robert Elsmer	Rector of Watton, Herts	Yes	No
C	St Helen's Bishopsgate	Monumental brass	1514	Robert Rochester	Esquire, Sergeant to the Pantry to King Henry VIII	No	No
C	St Olave Hart Street	Incised Slab	1515	Augustine van Thielt		No	No
C	St Olave Hart Street	Monumental brass	1516	Richard Haddon and wives Katherine and Anne	Knight, mayor, citizen and mercer	Yes	No
C	The Rolls Chapel	Monument	1516	John Young	Master of the Rolls	Yes	Yes
C	All Hallows Barking	Monumental brass	1518	Christopher Rawson and wives Margaret and Agnes	Citizen and mercer and Merchant of the Staple at Calais	Yes	Yes
P	St Nicholas Olave (now All Saints, Orpington, Kent)	Monumental brass	1519	John Saron	Priest and parson of St Nicholas Olave	Yes	Yes
C	Convent of the Dominicans (now at St Mary, Tilty, Essex)	Monumental brass	1520	Gerard Danet and wife Mary	Gentleman	Yes	Yes

C	Convent of the Crutched Friars (now in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London)	Effigies	1521	Richard Cholmonley and wife Elizabeth	Knight	Yes	No
C	St Helen's Bishopsgate	Easter Sepuchre	1525	Joan Alfrey	Widow of William Ledys and Thomas Alfrey	Yes	Yes
C	All Hallows Barking	Monumental brass	1533	Andrew Ewynger and wife Ellen	Citizen and salter	Yes	No
C	St Dunstan in the West	Monumental brass	1536	Henry Dacres and wife Elizabeth	Alderman, citizen and merchant taylor	Yes	Yes
C	St Andrew Cornhill	Monumental brass	1539	Nicholas Leveson and wife Denys	Sheriff, citizen and mercer and Merchant of the Staple of Calais	Yes	Yes
C	All Hallows Barking	Incised marble Stone	1540	Elizabeth Denham	Wife of William Denham, alderman and Merchant of the Staple of Calais	No	No

Appendix 2:

The loss of tombs from the 1552 London inventories

This table is based on the sale of gravestones, tombs and latten (which probably included brass memorials) taken from H.B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation* (London, 1939)

Parish Location	Latten/brass sold	Value	Purchaser
All Hallows Bread Street	Brass sold from graves		
All Hallows Honey Lane	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Thomas Coles
All Hallows London Wall	Brass sold from graves		Sold to Christopher Stubbs
All Hallows the Great	Brass sold from graves		Sold to Richard Thornwood
All Hallows the Less	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
Holy Trinity the Less	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Alphege	Brass sold from graves		
St Andrew Castle Baynard	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Andrew Cornhill	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Anne and St Agnes	Sale of 'latten', not specific		

St Antonin	Brass sold from graves		Sold to Thomas Cottes (Churchwarden of St Antonin)
St Augustine by St Paul	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to John Angell
St Benet Fink	Sale of a marble tomb	13s 4d	Sold to John Pasken, mason
St Benet Fink	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Michael Heythwayte
St Benet Gracechurch	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Botolph Aldersgate	Sale of 'latten', not specific	£57	Sold to Harves of Lothbury
St Botolph without Aldgate	'Certayn Towne stounes'	9s	Sold to George Harryson (Churchwarden at Holy Trinity the Less ?)
St Botolph without Aldgate	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Thomas Richardson
St Botolph Billingsgate	Brass sold from graves		
St Botolph Billingsgate	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Nicholas Revell
St Dionis Backchurch	Brass sold from graves		
St Dunstan in the West	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Simon Ponder

St Edmund Lombard Street	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Thomas Curtes
St Ethelburga	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Robert Sherlock
St Faith	'a marble stone for a tombe',	10s	Sold to Mistress Crooke
St Faith	Brass sold from graves		Sold to Roger Silvester & Aleyne Gaulyn
St Gabriel	Brass sold from graves		
St Gabriel	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Roger Beare
St Giles Cripplegate	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St John the Evangelist	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Katherine Cree	Brass sold from graves		
St Katherine Cree	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to John Owen
St Lawrence Candlewick Street	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Mistress Ask
St Lawrence Jewry	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Edmund Benges

St Margaret Lothbury	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Robert Fox
St Margaret Moses	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Thomas Barley
St Margaret Bridge Street	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Richard Bilbie
St Martin Outwich	Brass sold from graves		Sold to Richard Leycrofte
St Martin Outwich	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to John Owen
St Mary Abchurch	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to John Sowche
St Mary Aldermary	Brass sold from graves		Sold to Wyllys, pewterer
St Mary Aldermary	sundry gravestones	22 s.	Sold to four men (names not given)
St Mary at Hill	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Thomas Clarke
St Mary Axe	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to [George?] Finch

St Mary Colechurch	In 1547-48 the sale of brass was recorded including 'and more sould the Couar of the sepulkar vi viiid total'	6s 8d	
St Mary le Bow	'Item A grave stone'		
St Mary le Bow	'Item A grave stone'		
St Mary le Bow	'Item a litall grave stone'		
St Mary le Bow	'Item a litill Tombe'		
St Mary le Bow	'Item certeyne grave stones'		
St Mary Magdalene Milk Street	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Allen Gardener
St Mary Somerset	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Thomas Kerye
St Mary Staining	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to John Crocoke
St Michael le Querne	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to an unnamed founder; Laurence Warren and Clement Kyllingworth

St Michael Queenhithe	'Item solde to John Myrfyn Cowke the tymber of the maydens loft with ii altar stones & iiiii grave stone Summa iiiii li'	£4	Sold to John Myrfyn
St Michael Queenhithe	Brass sold from graves		Sold to Clement Kyllingworth
St Michael Queenhithe	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Clement Kyllingworth
St Michael Queenhithe	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Thomas Thaxton
St Olave Hart Street	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Olave Old Jewry	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to William Abbot, founder
St Olave Silver Street	Brass sold from graves		
St Olave Silver Street	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Pancras	Brass sold from graves		
St Peter Cornhill	a gravestone sold in 1548-49		Sold to Edward Gonne
St Peter Cornhill	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Leonard Richeman

St Peter Westcheap	'a tombstone 6s 8d' sold in 1550-51	6s 8d	Sold to Thomas Pigott
St Peter Westcheap	'various tombstones' sold 1550-51, £1 6s 8d	£1 6s 8d	Sold to John Machell
St Peter Westcheap	Sale of 'latten', not specific		
St Stephan Coleman Street	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to William Abbot
St Swithin	In 1549-50 'Item solde and recd for a gravestone to Randall Hyll and other stones all vis iiiid'	6s 4d	
St Swithin	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Walter Maken, pewterer
St Thomas Apostle	Brass sold from graves		Sold to Robert Nashe
St Thomas Apostle	Sale of 'latten', not specific		Sold to Thomas Thaxton
St Vedast	Sale of 'latten', not specific		

Appendix 3:

London's parish churches and their tombs (by period)

This table is based on the total number of funerary monuments recorded by the heralds, the antiquarian accounts and the surviving monuments from London's city churches. This has been compared to John Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: A Review', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 45 (1994), pp. 23-146, to include any references to (re)building activity. In order to understand the relative size of these parishes, the list of communicants from the London chantry certificates of 1548 have also been incorporated into the table, taken from C.J. Kitching, 'London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548', *London Record Society*, 48 (1980). Those in bold are discussed as case studies in Chapter 4.

Parish	Rebuilt/reordered	Communicants (1548)	Recorded tombs	pre 1349	1350- 99	1400- 49	1450- 99	1500- 40	No date
All Hallows Barking	Chapel (?) (1300s)	800	31	1	2	3	8	8	9
All Hallows Bread Street		300	9	1			3	2	3
All Hallows Gracechurch	South aisle (1494)	300	3					1	2
All Hallows Honey Lane		150	1				1		
All Hallows on the Wall	South aisle (1528)	217	1						1
All Hallows Staining	Roof (1442)	424	17			2	2		13
All Hallows the Great	South aisle (?) and cloister (1380s-97)	550	6			1	1	2	2
All Hallows the Less	Rebuilding (1330)	200	2				1	1	
St Alban Wood Street	Chapels (1300s)	300	38	1	1	6	9	5	16
St Alphage	Rebuilding on city wall (1300s)	345	1				1		
St Andrew Castle Baynard		450	7				3	2	2
St Andrew Cornhill	Nave and aisles (1520-32)	373	7			3	1	3	

St Anne Aldersgate		300	7				4	1	2
St Antonin	Re-edified' (c.1400), rebuilding (1450s onwards)	240	16			3	3	7	3
St Augustine by St Paul		(Incomplete)	12			2	7	3	
St Bartholomew the Little	Rebuilding (1438), chapel (1509)	392	7				2	2	3
St Benet Fink		300	8				1	2	5
St Benet Gracechurch		223	2					1	1
St Benet Paul's Wharf		336	3				1	1	1
St Benet Sherehog		300	7		1	1	1		4
St Botolph Billingsgate		300	10		3	3	4		
St Botolph Bishopsgate		650	5				2	3	
St Botolph without Aldersgate	South aisles (c.1400)	1100	24		2	10	3	4	5
St Botolph without Aldgate	Rebuilding (tower?) (early 1500s)	1130	7			1	2	1	3
St Bride	Nave and aisles (1400-80)	1400	10		1	4	3		2
St Christopher	Rebuilding and glazing (1462-72), tower (1506)	221	18		1	4	3	5	5
St Clement		266	3					1	2
St Dionis Backchurch	Rebuilding (1440s), south aisle (1466)	405	10			1	3	2	4
St Dunstan in the East	South aisle (1381), chapel (1517)	900	19		3	5	3	7	1
St Dunstan in the West		900	13			4	2	4	3
St Edmund Lombard Street		240	4				1	1	2
St Faith		400	7				5		2

St George		123	15		1	4	7	3	
St Giles Cripplegate	South aisle (1339), tower (1396), rebuilt after a fire (1545)	2440	32			2		3	27
St Gregory		600	4				2		2
St James Garlickhithe	Rebuilding (1326)	400	26	5	4	2	6	1	8
St John the Evangelist		100	2		1			1	
St John Walbrook	Enlarged (1412)	375	2			1	1		
St John Zachary	Rebuilding with a south aisle (1390s)	240	23	0	2	7	5	8	1
St Katherine Cree	Tower (1504)	542	12			2	4		6
St Lawrence Candlewick Street		270	3				2		1
St Lawrence Jewry		548	33		1	11	11	2	8
St Leonard Eastcheap		260	25	0	2	5	7	5	6
St Leonard Foster Lane		452	5					3	2
St Magnus		535	10	1		3		3	3
St Margaret Bridge Street		200	10		1		2		7
St Margaret Lothbury	Extension (1440)	279	10		1	1	3	2	3
St Margaret Moses		240	4			1	1		2
St Martin Ludgate	Tower (1425-67)	476	11			2	3	2	4
St Martin Orgar	Chapel (1433)	280	13			4	2		7
St Martin Outwich	South aisle (1400-69)	227	15			1	6	2	6
St Martin Pomary		120	1				1		
St Martin Vintry	Tower (1397?), roof and glazing (1494)	460	37	2	3	4	8	1	19

St Mary Abchurch		368	10		1	2	1	1	5
St Mary Aldermanbury	Tower (1438), rebuilding (1518)	371	13	1	1	3	3	4	1
St Mary Aldermary		400	7	2			3	2	
St Mary at Hill	North aisle (1497)	400	8	1	2	2	2	1	
St Mary Bothaw		182	4	1		2		1	
St Mary le Bow	Tower (1512)	300	9			1	2	1	5
St Mary Magdalene Milk Street	Chapel (1495) Substantial repairs (1513)	220	13		1		6	5	1
St Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street		360	5				2	2	1
St Mary Mounthaw		not recorded	1					1	
St Mary Somerset		300	11			2	3	5	1
St Mary Woolchurch	Rebuilding (1442 onwards)	360	8				3	3	2
St Mary Woolnoth	Chapel and other parts (1496)	300	16		1	1	5	5	4
St Matthew Friday Street		200	6		1			2	3
St Michael Bassishaw	Rebuilding (1460), chapel (1527)	500	13		1	2	7	1	2
St Michael Cornhill	New tower (1421)	(Incomplete)	32			7	4	16	5
St Michael Crooked Lane	Choir and side chapels (1360s)	354	23		4	3	6	3	7
St Michael le Querne	Enlarged (1390s and 1430)	350	9	1	1		3	2	2
St Michael Paternoster	Enlarged (1409 onwards)	213	19			3	6	2	8
St Michael Queenhithe		500	4			2		2	
St Michael Wood Street	Enlarged (1422), tower (1429-30)	317	11		1	3	3	1	3
St Mildred Bread Street	Tower (1428), extension to east and roof (1457)	216	15	2	1	5	1	6	
St Mildred Poultry		277	16	1		3	7	2	3

St Nicholas Acon	Repair and battlements (1520)	154	3				1	1	1
St Nicholas Cole Abbey	Tower, south aisle and glazing (1377)	180	23	2		3	6	8	4
St Nicholas Olave		163	7		2	1	2	2	
St Olave Hart Street	Rebuilding (1460s)	435	19		1	4	6	4	4
St Olave Jewry	North aisle (1436 onwards)	198	16	1	4	3	3	4	1
St Pancras		146	23		3	2	4	1	13
St Peter Broad Street	Roof and tower repaired (1491)	160	2					1	1
St Peter Cornhill	New arcades (?), roof and glazing (1460s-70s)	500	23	3	1	6	3	7	3
St Peter Westcheap		360	10		1	2	2	5	
St Sepulchre	Rebuilding (1450s onwards)	3400	10			1	1	2	6
St Stephen Coleman Street		880	12		3	3	1	1	4
St Stephen Walbrook	Construction on a new site (1429)	250	8				2		6
St Swithin	Rebuilt and tower (1400-20)	320	13	2		2		1	8
St Thomas the Apostle	Rebuilding and glazing (1371)	298	8	1	1	1	1	2	2
St Vedast	Rebuilding and chapel (1509 onwards)	460	5			1		3	1
		Total recorded tombs:	1043	29	61	173	250	215	315

Appendix 4:

London's parish churches and their tombs (by status)

This table summarises those who were commemorated in a city church based on their craft, occupation or status. This uses the accounts made by the heralds, the written sources and the biographical information contained on surviving tombs. It also uses the evidence available through surviving testaments which records the station of the deceased. Those in bold are discussed as case studies in Chapter 4.

An indication of any (re)building activity and the number of communicants, based on Appendix 3, has been retained in the table in this appendix.

Parish	Rebuilt/reordered	Communicants (1548)	Recorded tombs	Londoners	Gentry	Clergy	Nobility	Aliens	Status unknown
All Hallows Barking	Chapel (?) (1300s)	800	31	14	5	5			7
All Hallows Bread Street		300	9	8					1
All Hallows Gracechurch	South aisle (1494)	300	3	3					
All Hallows Honey Lane		150	1	1					
All Hallows on the Wall	South aisle (1528)	217	1		1				
All Hallows Staining	Roof (1442)	424	17	3	9				5
All Hallows the Great	South aisle (?) and cloister (1380s-97)	550	6	2	1			1	2
All Hallows the Less	Rebuilding (1330)	200	2	1					1
St Alban Wood Street	Chapels (1300s)	300	38	17	10				11
St Alphage	Rebuilding on city wall (1300s)	345	1	1					
St Andrew Castle Baynard		450	7	2	1				4
St Andrew Cornhill	Nave and aisles (1520-32)	373	7	5	2				

St Anne Aldersgate		300	7	2	2		1		2
St Antonin	Re-edified' (c.1400), rebuilding (1450s onwards)	240	16	11	1				4
St Augustine by St Paul		(Incomplete)	12	7	2	2			1
St Bartholomew the Little	Rebuilding (1438), chapel (1509)	392	7	3	2			1	1
St Benet Fink		300	8	2	1				5
St Benet Gracechurch		223	2	1					1
St Benet Paul's Wharf		336	3		3				
St Benet Sherehog		300	7	3					4
St Botolph Billingsgate		300	10	7		1			2
St Botolph Bishopsgate		650	5	1	1	2			1
St Botolph without Aldersgate	South aisles (c.1400)	1100	24	11	7				6
St Botolph without Aldgate	Rebuilding (tower?) (early 1500s)	1130	7	1	3				3
St Bride	Nave and aisles (1400-80)	1400	10	6	1				3
St Christopher	Rebuilding and glazing (1462-72), tower (1506)	221	18	9	2	1			6
St Clement		266	3						3
St Dionis Backchurch	Rebuilding (1440s), south aisle (1466)	405	10	5	2			1	2
St Dunstan in the East	South aisle (1381), chapel (1517)	900	19	11	4	3			1
St Dunstan in the West		900	13	3	3				7
St Edmund Lombard Street		240	4	3					1
St Faith		400	7	1	1	4			1

St George		123	15	9	6				
St Giles Cripplegate	South aisle (1339), tower (1396), rebuilt after a fire (1545)	2440	32	2	21			1	8
St Gregory		600	4		1				3
St James Garlickhithe	Rebuilding (1326)	400	26	11	1		6		8
St John the Evangelist		100	2	2					
St John Walbrook	Enlarged (1412)	375	2	2					
St John Zachary	Rebuilding with a south aisle (1390s)	240	23	17	3	3			
St Katherine Cree	Tower (1504)	542	12	2	8				2
St Lawrence Candlewick Street		270	3	3					
St Lawrence Jewry		548	33	23	1				9
St Leonard Eastcheap		260	25	19		2			4
St Leonard Foster Lane		452	5	3					2
St Magnus		535	10	8					2
St Margaret Bridge Street		200	10	1	5				4
St Margaret Lothbury	Extension (1440)	279	10	3	2				5
St Margaret Moses		240	4	1	1				2
St Martin Ludgate	Tower (1425-67)	476	11	2	3		1		5
St Martin Orgar	Chapel (1433)	280	13	5	2				6
St Martin Outwich	South aisle (1400-69)	227	15	6	1	1			7
St Martin Pomary		120	1	1					
St Martin Vintry	Tower (1397?), roof and glazing (1494)	460	37	15	3	1		2	16
St Mary Abchurch		368	10	3	1				6

St Mary Aldermanbury	Tower (1438), rebuilding (1518)	371	13	8	2				3
St Mary Aldermary		400	7	6					1
St Mary at Hill	North aisle (1497)	400	8	7	1				
St Mary Bothaw		182	4	2	2				
St Mary le Bow	Tower (1512)	300	9	5	1				3
St Mary Magdalene Milk Street	Chapel (1495) Substantial repairs (1513)	220	13	12					1
St Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street		360	5	5					
St Mary Mounthaw		not recorded	1			1			
St Mary Somerset		300	11	4	2	3	1		1
St Mary Woolchurch	Rebuilding (1442 onwards)	360	8	4	1				3
St Mary Woolnoth	Chapel and other parts (1496)	300	16	9	1				6
St Matthew Friday Street		200	6	4					2
St Michael Bassishaw	Rebuilding (1460), chapel (1527)	500	13	4	4	1			4
St Michael Cornhill	New tower (1421)	(Incomplete)	32	23	2	1			6
St Michael Crooked Lane	Choir and side chapels (1360s)	354	23	13	2				8
St Michael le Querne	Enlarged (1390s and 1430)	350	9	5	1	1			2
St Michael Paternoster	Enlarged (1409 onwards)	213	19	5	9	1			4
St Michael Queenhithe		500	4	3	1				
St Michael Wood Street	Enlarged (1422), tower (1429-30)	317	11	8	1				2
St Mildred Bread Street	Tower (1428), extension to east and roof (1457)	216	15	7	4	1	1		2
St Mildred Poultry		277	16	6	2	1			7
St Nicholas Acon	Repair and battlements (1520)	154	3	3					

St Nicholas Cole Abbey	Tower, south aisle and glazing (1377)	180	23	14	2	2			5
St Nicholas Olave		163	7	3	2	2			
St Olave Hart Street	Rebuilding (1460s)	435	19	7	10			1	1
St Olave Jewry	North aisle (1436 onwards)	198	16	10	3	3			
St Pancras		146	23	10	1				12
St Peter Broad Street	Roof and tower repaired (1491)	160	2	2					
St Peter Cornhill	New arcades (?), roof and glazing (1460s-70s)	500	23	16	4	1			2
St Peter Westcheap		360	10	9	1				
St Sepulchre	Rebuilding (1450s onwards)	3400	10	1	4				5
St Stephen Coleman Street		880	12	3	1				8
St Stephen Walbrook	Construction on a new site (1429)	250	8	2	3	1			2
St Swithin	Rebuilt and tower (1400-20)	320	13	8	1				4
St Thomas the Apostle	Rebuilding and glazing (1371)	298	8	6					2
St Vedast	Rebuilding and chapel (1509 onwards)	460	5	4	1				
	Total tombs:		1043	520	192	44	10	7	270

Appendix 5:

The brasses from St George

This table is a summary of the list of brasses recorded from St George's in Botolph Lane by the parish clerk, George Clynt, in 1574. This is based on LMA, P69/GEO/A/001/MS04791-4792 which was published by, Stephen Freeth, 'Brasses at St George Botolph Lane, in 1574', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 14, part 1 (1986), pp. 69-71. This has also been compared to the record of palimpsest brasses in John Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Brasses*, 2 vols (London, 1980) which has identified the lost brass for Richard Fitz-andrew (d. 1411) and his wife, Margaret.

Date	Name	Status	Will	Will Instructions	Will Instruction Details	Will Details
1397	Adam Bamme	Goldsmith, former mayor	No	No		
1400	Nicholas Narpora/Marpor	Gentleman	No	No		
1401	John Walkerton/Walton	Gentleman	No	No		
1411	Richard and Margaret Fitz-andrew (reused at Holy Cross, Gt Greenford, Middlesex 1544)	Fishmonger	Yes	No		LMA 9171/ 2 f. 198v
1424	Hugh Spencer	Esquire	No	No		
1429	John St John	Merchant of Levant	Yes	Yes	with his wife Agnes where she was buried under a marble stone	LMA 9171/ 3 f 213
1452	William Combes	Stockfishmonger, former sheriff and alderman	Yes	No		TNA: PRO, PROB 11/1 ff. 135v-136r
1452	Richard Bamme	Esquire of Gillingham and Dartford (Kent)	Yes	No	to be buried next to his father	TNA:PRO, PROB 11/1 ff. 132r-132v
1479	Agnes Davye	daughter of Oliver Davye, goldsmith	No	No		

1485	John Stoker	Draper, former sheriff and alderman	Yes	No		TNA: PRO, PROB 1/7 f. 113r
1487	Richard Dryland	Esquire	No	No		
1489	Michael Harris	Draper	Yes	No		TNA:PRO, PROB 11/8 ff. 182v-183r
1495	Godfrey Oxenford	Gentleman	Yes	No		TNA:PRO, PROB 11/10 ff. 250v-251r
1520	William Barnes	Cooper	Yes	No		TNA:PRO, PROB 11/20 ff.22r-22v
1525	Nicholas Partrich	Grocer, former sheriff and alderman	Yes	No		TNA:PRO, PROB 11/21 ff. 268r-269r
1540	Thoms Gale	Haberdasher	Yes	No		TNA:PRO, PROB 11/28 ff. 153r-154r
1544	James Mumford	Esquire, surgeon to King Henry VIII	Yes	No	to be buried in the churchyard	LMA 9171/11 f. 134v
1547	William Foreman	Haberdasher, former sheriff and mayor, knight	Yes	Yes	"my body to be buried wtn the pishe church of Sainte George of London in the Tombe whiche I late made there"	TNA:PRO, PROB 11/31 f. 235v
1551	Nicholas Wilford	Merchant Taylor and former MP	Yes	No		TNA:PRO, PROB 11/34 ff. 171v-172r

Appendix 6: The burial site and monuments for the bishops of London, 1140-1540

This table is based on the record of tombs made by John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631) and Sir William Dugdale, *A History of St Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1658) and the biographies of the bishops of London in Joyce M. Horn, *John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, volume V for St Paul's London (London, 1963); C.M. Woolgar, 'Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate, 1200-1413: Wills, Executors' Accounts and Inventories, and the Probate Process', *Canterbury and York Society*, CII (2011). The *ODNB* has also been consulted for the most up to date biographical accounts of these bishops.

T = Translated; R = Removed

* = Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey* (Bath, 1970), pp. 327-328 (lost brass)

Name	Elected	Death or translation	Place of burial (where known)	Type of memorial (where known)
Richard de Sigillo	1141	1151		
Richard de Beaumes	1152	1162		
Gilbert Foliot	1163	1187		
Richard Fitz-neal	1189	1198		
William of Sainte-Mère- Eglise	1199	1221		
Eustace de Fauconberg	1221	1228	St Paul's Cathedral	Effigy on tomb chest
Roger Niger	1229	1241	St Paul's Cathedral	Tomb chest
Fulk Bassett	1244	1259	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Henry Wingham	1260	1262	St Paul's Cathedral	Effigy on tomb chest
Henry de Sandwich	1263	1273	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
John Chishull	1274	1280	St Paul's Cathedral	Tomb chest
Richard Gravesend	1280	1303	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Ralph Baldock	1304	1313	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Gilbert Segrave	1313	1316		
Richard Newport	1316	1318	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass (?)
Stephen Gravesend	1318	1338	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Richard Bintworth	1338	1339	St Paul's Cathedral	
Ralph Stratford	1340	1354	St Paul's Cathedral	
Michael Northburgh	1354	1361	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Simon Sudbury	1361	(T) 1375	Canterbury Cathedral	Effigy under canopy
William Courtenay	(T) 1375	1381	Canterbury Cathedral	Alabaster effigy

Robert Braybrooke	1381	1404	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Thomas Langley	1404	(R)1404	Durham Cathedral	Altar tomb
Roger Walden	1404	1406	Priory of St Bartholomew, London	Monumental brass (?)
Nicholas Bubwith	1406	(T) 1407	Wells Cathedral	Monumental brass
Richard Clifford	(T) 1407	1421	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
John Kemp	1421	(T) 1425	Canterbury Cathedral	Tomb chest
William Gray	1426	(T) 1431	Lincoln Cathedral	Monumental brass (?)
Robert Fitz-hugh	1431	1436	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Robert Gilbert	1436	1448	St Paul's Cathedral	
Thomas Kemp	1448	1489	St Paul's Cathedral	Effigy on tomb chest
Richard Hill	1489	1496	St Paul's Cathedral	
Thomas Savage	(T) 1496	(T) 1501	York Minster	Effigy
William Warham	1502	(T) 1503	Canterbury Cathedral	Effigy on tomb chest
William Barons	1504	1505	St Paul's Cathedral	
Richard Fitz-james	(T) 1506	1522	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Cuthbert Tunstall	1522	(T) 1530	Lambeth Parish Church	Monumental brass *
John Stokesley	1530	1539	St Paul's Cathedral	Monumental brass
Edmund Bonner	1539	1549	St George's Southwark (churchyard)	

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Illustrations



Figure 1.1: Coffin lid, the churchyard of St Paul's Cathedral, c. 1250-c.1325, Museum of London. Photograph: John Schofield.



Figure 1.2: Effigy of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke (?) (d. 1219), The Temple.
Photograph: author.



Figure 1.3: Effigy of a member of the Marshall family (?), The Temple. Photograph: author.



Figure 1.4: Retrospective effigy of the founder, Rahere (d. 1143x45), c. 1400 from the former Priory of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, now the parish church of St Bartholomew the Great. Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.



Figure 1.5: Alabaster effigy of John de Oteswich and his wife, c. 1400, formerly from St Martin Outwich and now in St Helen Bishopsgate. Photograph: author.

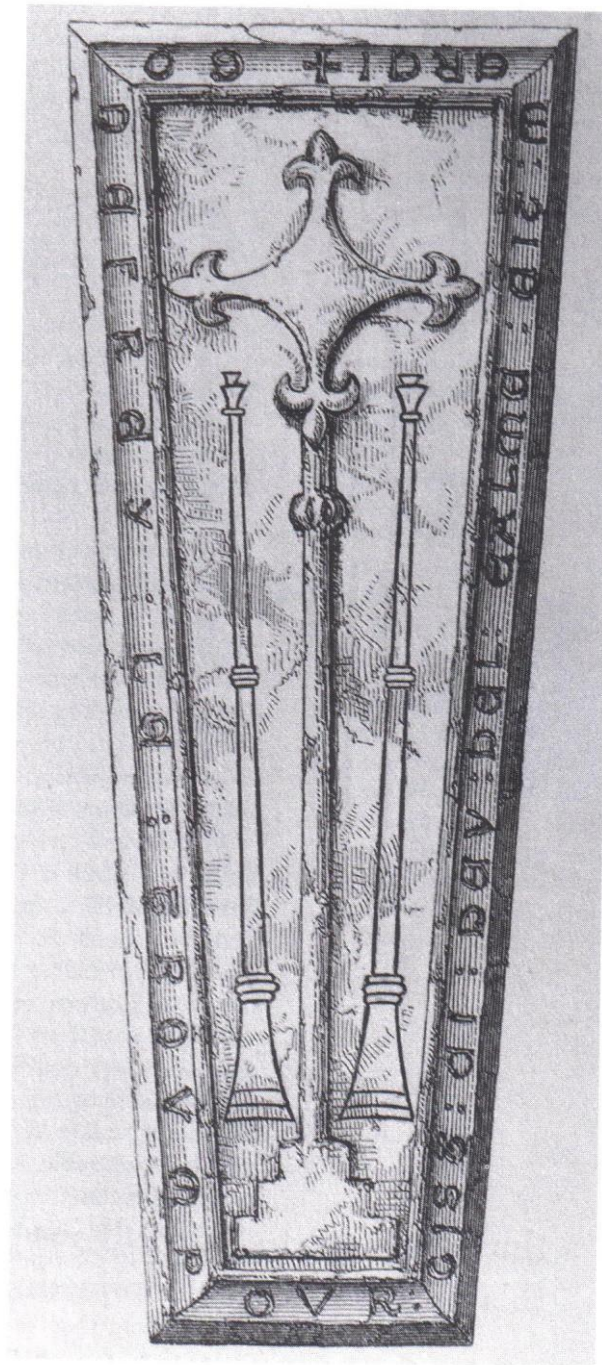


Figure 1.6: Incised slab for Godfrey le Troumpour, late thirteenth century, formerly from Guildhall Chapel, now Museum of London. Drawing from C. Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London, 1854), 100.



Figure 1.7: Incised slab to an unknown man, c. 1305-c.1325, Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph: author.



Figure 1.8: Incised slab with restored eighteenth century (?) inlay to an unknown priest, early fourteenth century, All Hallows Barking. Photograph: author.

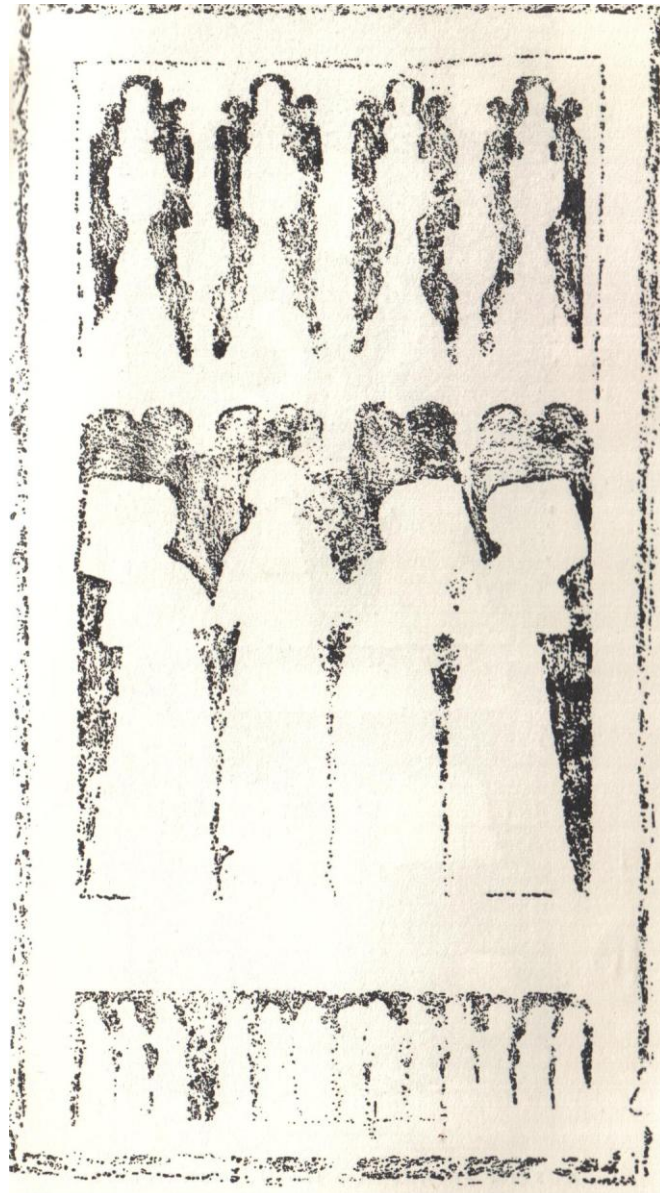


Figure 1.9: Indent of a civilian with his three wives, formerly Austin Friars, London.
From F.A. Greenhill, 'Austin Friars, London', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 8:7 (1949), 337.



Figure 1.10: Brass of William Tong (d. 1389), All Hallows Barking.
Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.

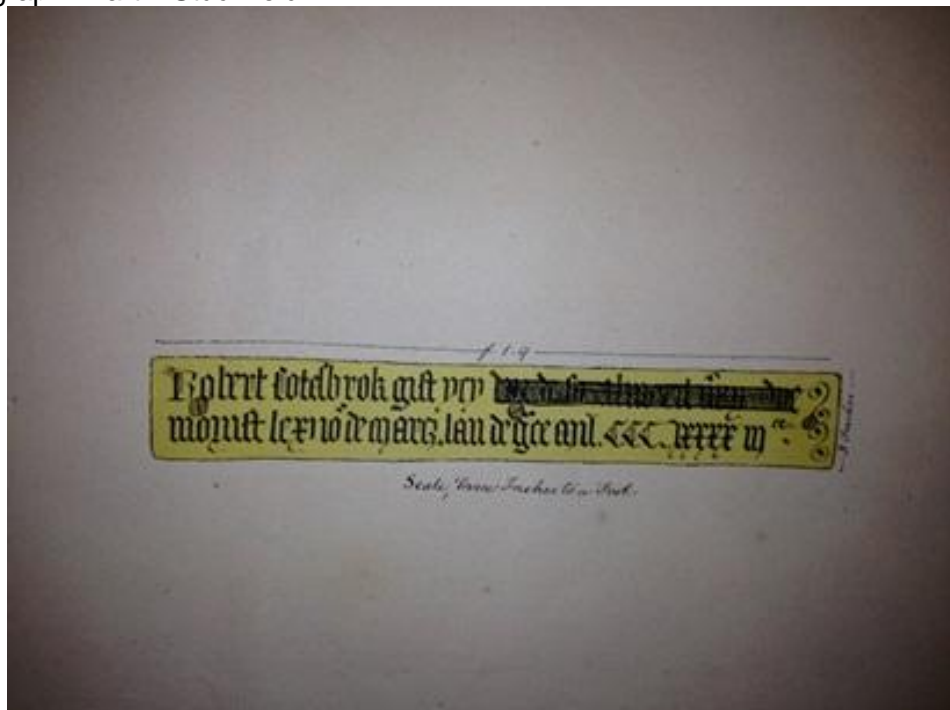


Figure 1.11: Brass of Robert Cotesbroke (d. 1393), St Helen Bishopsgate. Drawing by
Thomas Fisher, Merchant Taylors Company, London.



Figure 1.12: Brass of Thomas Gilbert (d. 1483) and his wife, Alice (d. 1489), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: author.



Figure 1.13: Brass of Thomas Wylliams (d. 1495) and his wife, Margaret, St Helen Bishopsgate. Photograph: author.



Figure 1.14: The canopied tomb for John Croke (d. 1477) and his wife Margaret (d. 1491), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: John McEwan.



Figure 1.15: The canopied tomb for Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500) and his wife Katherine (d. 1508), St Helen Bishopsgate. Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.



Figure 1.16: The brass of Nicholas Leveson (d. 1539) and his wife Denys (d. 1560), St Andrew Cornhill. Photograph: author.

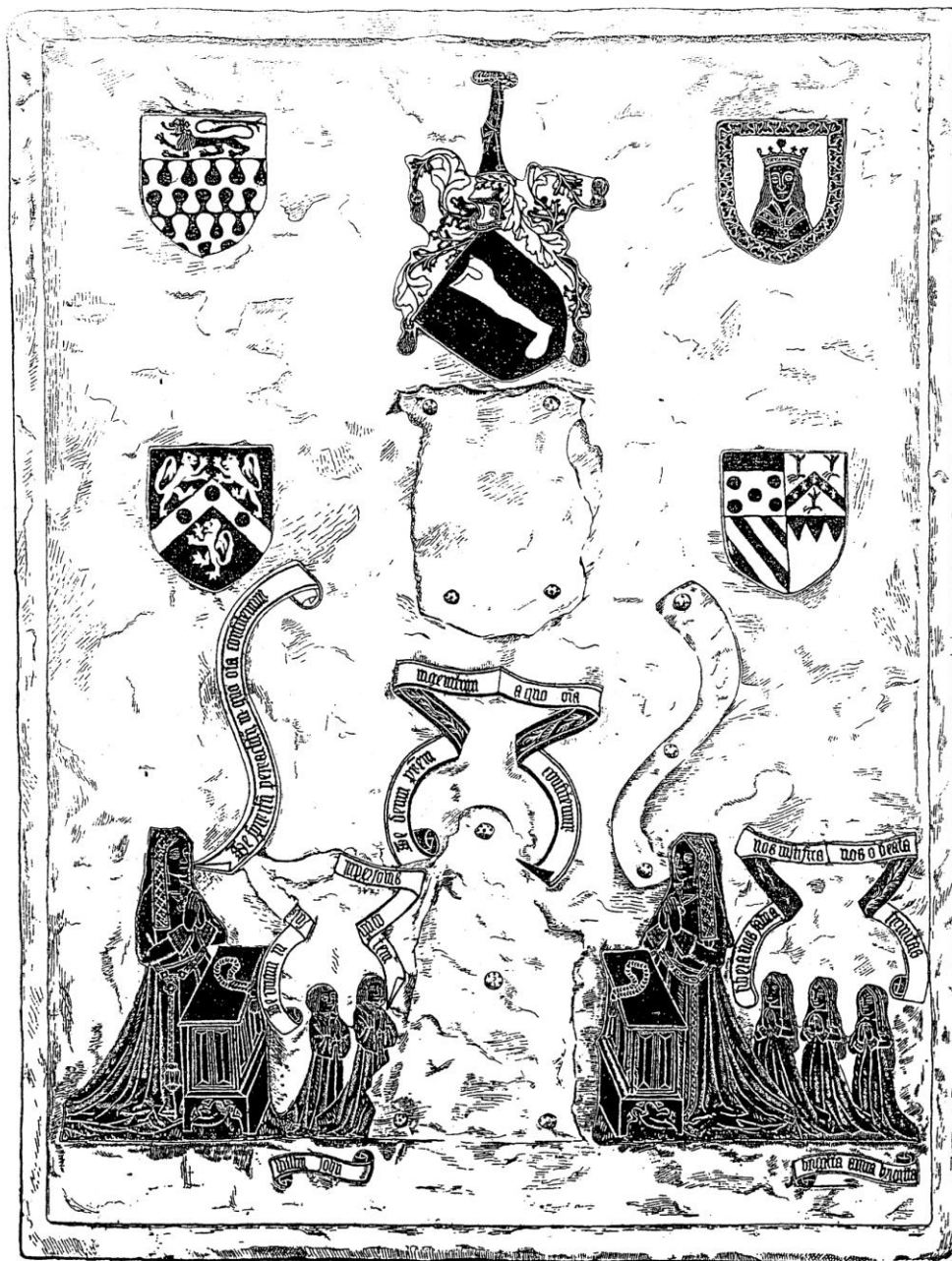


Figure 1.17: The brass of Sir Richard Hadon (d. 1516) and wives, St Olave Hart Street. Brass rubbing from Alfred Povah, *The annals of the parishes of St Olave Hart Street and Allhallows Staining, in the City of London* (London, 1894), 67.



Figure 1.18: Easter sepulchre of Joan Alfrey (d. 1525), St Helen Bishopsgate.
Photograph: author.



Figure 2.1: The brass of Jane Wriothesley (d. after 1510), St Giles Cripplegate (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 84v).



Figure 2.2: The effigy of William, Viscount Beaumont (d. 1507), London Black Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 88v).



Figure 2.3: The effigy of Sir Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand (d. 1508), London Black Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 82r).



Figure 2.4: The effigy of Sir Stephen Jennings (d. 1523), London Grey Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 86r).

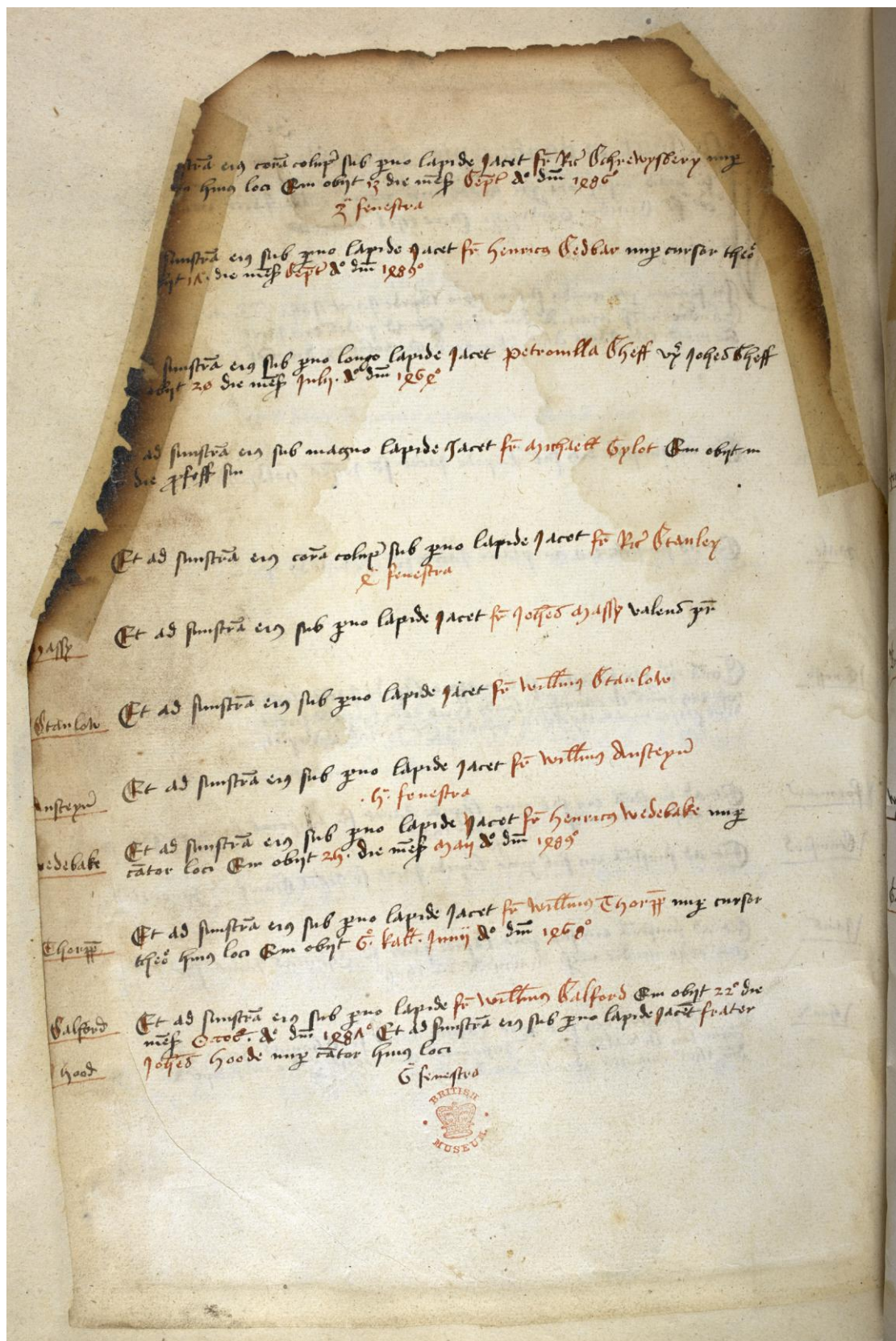


Figure 2.5: Burials and tombs from the nave of the Grey Friars (BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 303v).

281

Et ad dextera eoy magna tumba claudata p[er]act. Joh[ann]es Rylle
D[omi]ni Roberti Chalons. Can. obyt p[er] die m[en]s[is] Sept[embris] Anno d[omi]ni

In capella Apostolorum ex p^{re}sentia
antiphonali chori :

Vn p[ri]mo ad dextera coram altaris in magna t[er]ra elevat[ur] p[ar]et
nobis vir d[omi]ni **Walterus Blount** strenuus miles cu[m] liberato de
quartiero et d[omi]no de Montjoy et magnus t[er]reparator Anglie
t[em]p[or]e Reg[is] **Edwardi** filii et heres h[uius] Blount milit[is] n[ost]ri t[em]p[or]is
Normanie quid[am] **Willelmus** obiit p[er] die m[en]s[is] **Augusti** de d[omi]no 1242^o
Et ad sinistra eius in ead[em] t[er]ra p[ar]et d[omi]no **Edwardus** d[omi]no de Montjoy filii
Willelmus Blount filii et heres p[re]fati d[omi]ni **Walterus** Blount d[omi]ni de m[on]tjoy
Arm[atus] obiit p[er] die m[en]s[is] **Decembris** de d[omi]no 1245^o

Wg outfox

Et ad sinistra sup gradus ult^m medice Episc^o Bonifacius p^rsens dⁿa dⁿa
Abbas Montepⁱz n^re v^r North Bretonne Major Londet fⁱld h^om
Rebet n^re maior ead^m civitate Qu^o obijt 8^o die m^eis Junij a^d dⁿm 1621

Blount Et a 9 de pterā en p. roet sub lapide Anna Blount filia dñi Johes
Blount militis dñi de Montgoy et lore v^r en Cui obijt 14. die m^{is}
de may 1^o dñi 1287

Figure 2.6: An entry from the Grey Friars burial register recording the burials and tombs in the Chapel of the Apostles (BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 282r).

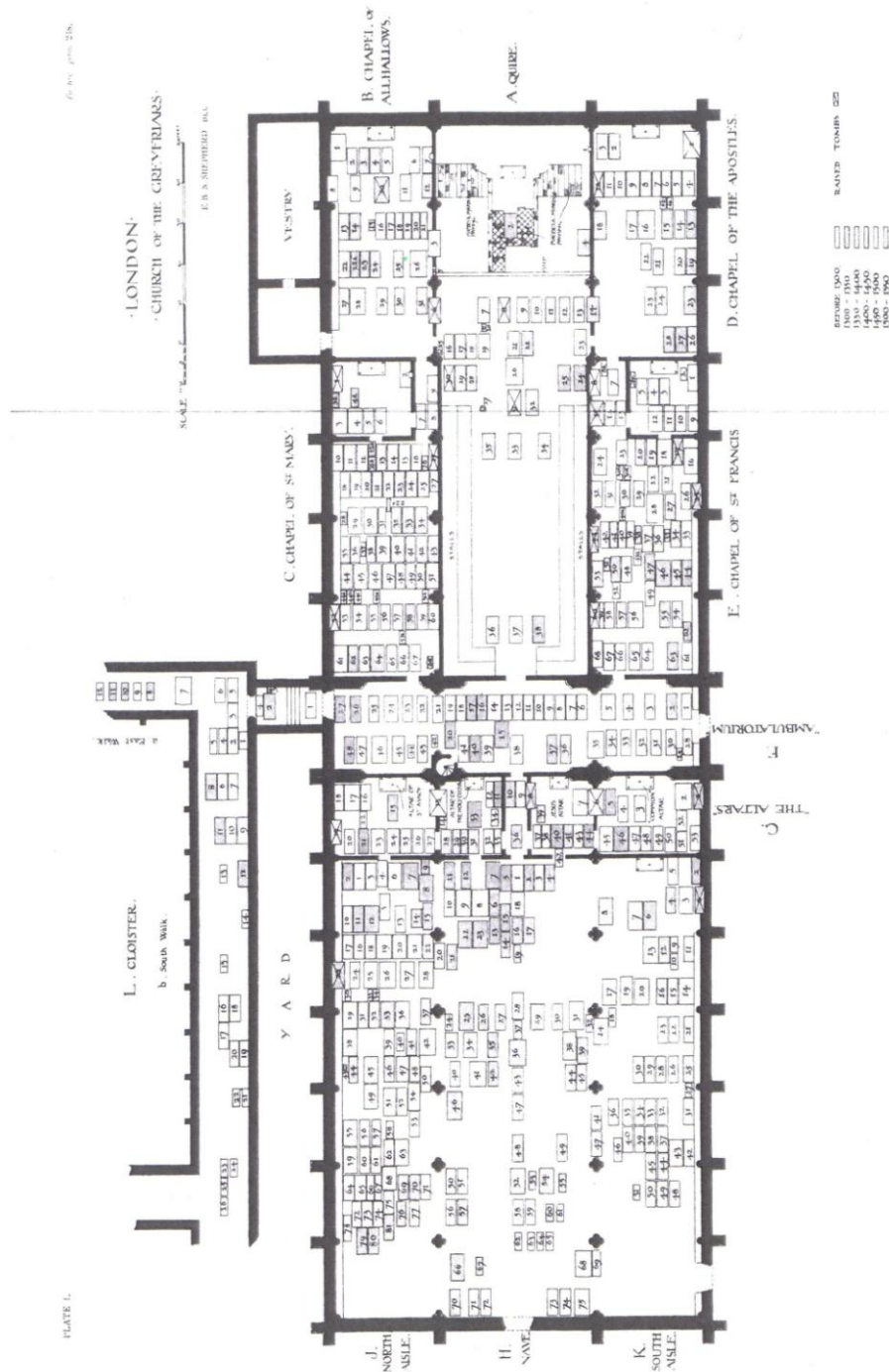


Figure 2.7: Map showing the extent of burial and commemoration in the London Grey Friars, taken from E.S.B. Shepherd, 'The Church of the Friars Minors in London' *Archaeological Journal*, 59 (1902).

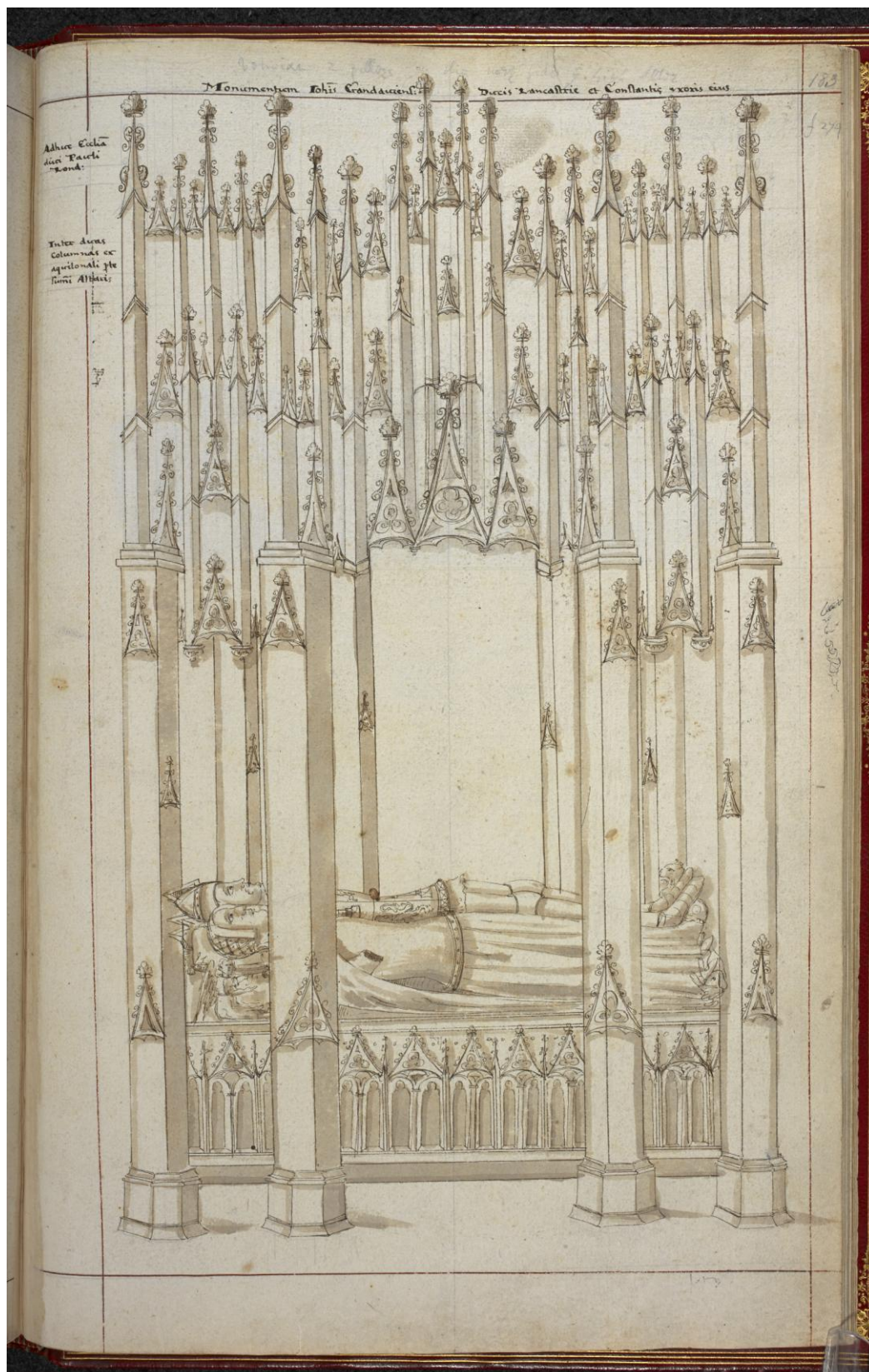


Figure 2.9: Tomb of John of Gaunt (d. 1399) and his first wife Blanche, St Paul's Cathedral by William Sedgwick (BL, Additional 71474, f.183r).



Figure 2.10: Tomb of John of Gaunt (d. 1399) and his first wife Blanche, St Paul's Cathedral by Wenceslaus Hollar (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 60.

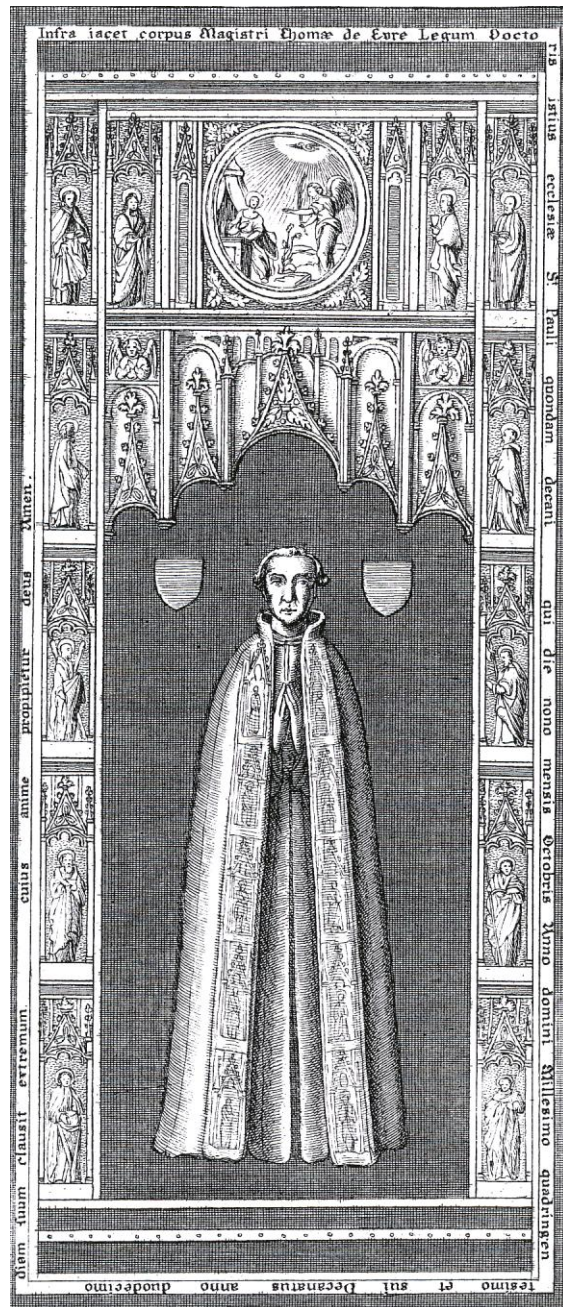


Figure 2.11: Brass of Thomas de Eure (d. 1400), Dean of St Paul's (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 45.



Figure 3.1: Palimpsest inscription to Leticia atte Wiche (d. 1361) formerly from St Martin Orgar, now at St Margaret, Rainham (Kent), on the reverse of James Donet, esquire (d. 1408). Rubbing: William Lack.



Figure 3.2: The brass of John Rushe, gentleman (d. 1498) at All Hallows Barking. Photograph: John McEwan.

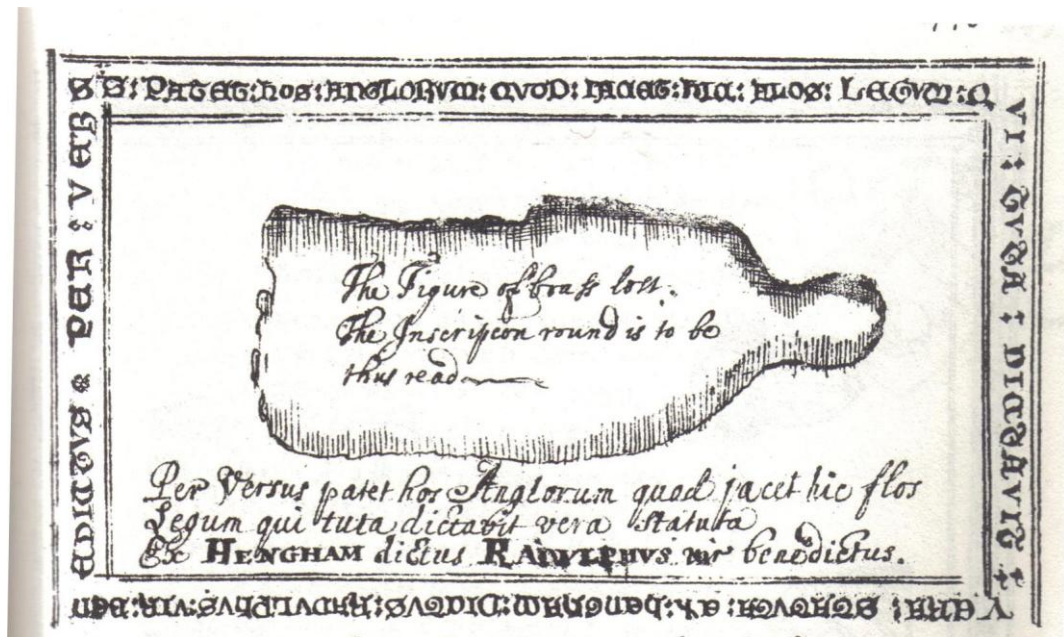


Figure 3.3: The damaged brass of Ralph de Hengham (d. 1311), St Paul's Cathedral. Taken from Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble*, Camden Record Society, 97 (1868), 413.

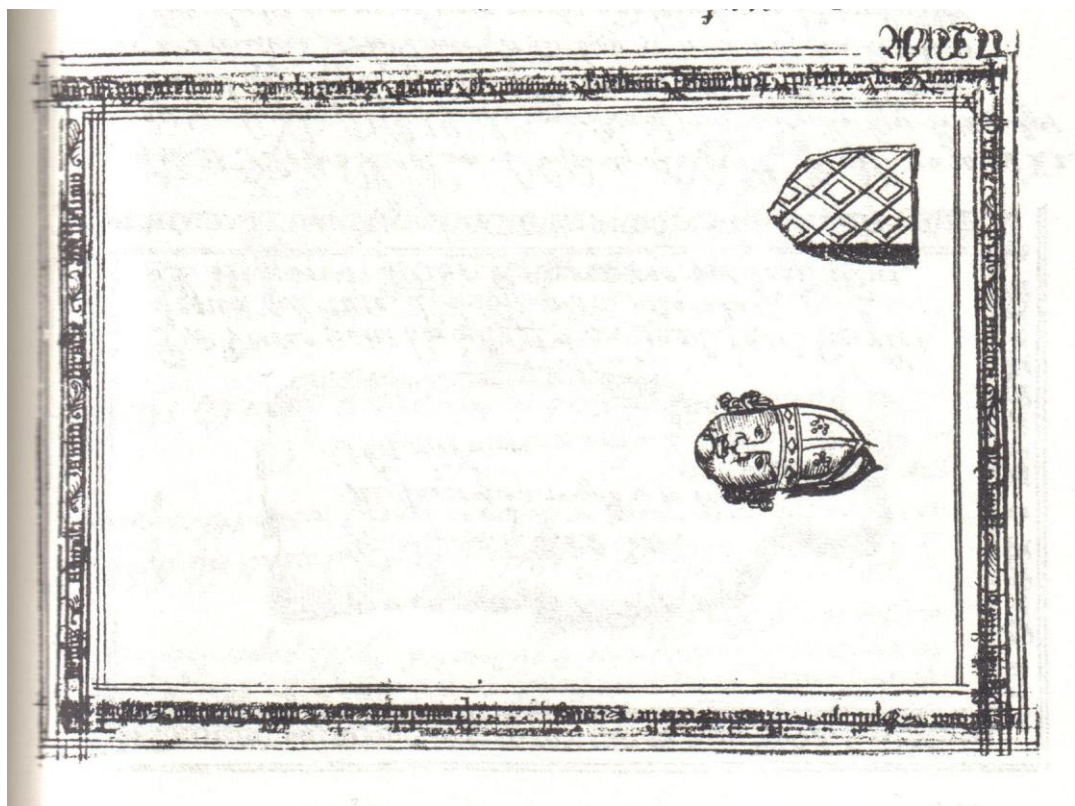


Figure 3.4: The damaged brass of Robert Braybrooke (d. 1404), St Paul's Cathedral. Taken from Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble*, Camden Record Society, 97 (1868), 414.



Figure 3.5: Interior view of the Hospital of St Katherine by the Tower showing the tomb of John Holland, duke of Exeter (d. 1447) and two wives alongside a number of floor memorials, by John Carter, c. 1780 (Guildhall Library).



Figure 4.1: Brass of William Tong (d. 1389), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.



Figure 4.2: Brass of John Bacon (d. 1437) and his wife Joan, All Hallows Barking. Rubbing: Martin Stuchfield.



Figure 4.3: The canopied tomb for John Croke (d. 1477) and his wife Margaret (d. 1491), All Hallows Barking. Photograph: John McEwan.

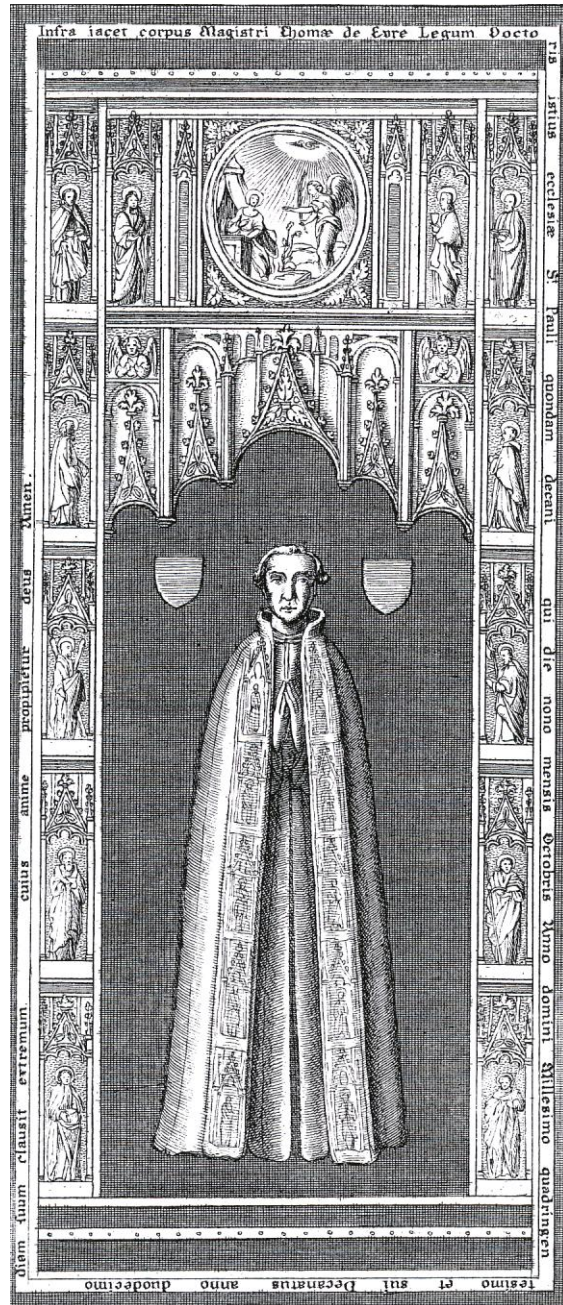


Figure 5.1: Brass of Thomas de Eure (d. 1400), Dean of St Paul's (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 45.



Figure 5.2: Coffin lid, the churchyard of St Paul's Cathedral, c. 1250-c.1325, Museum of London Photograph: John Schofield.

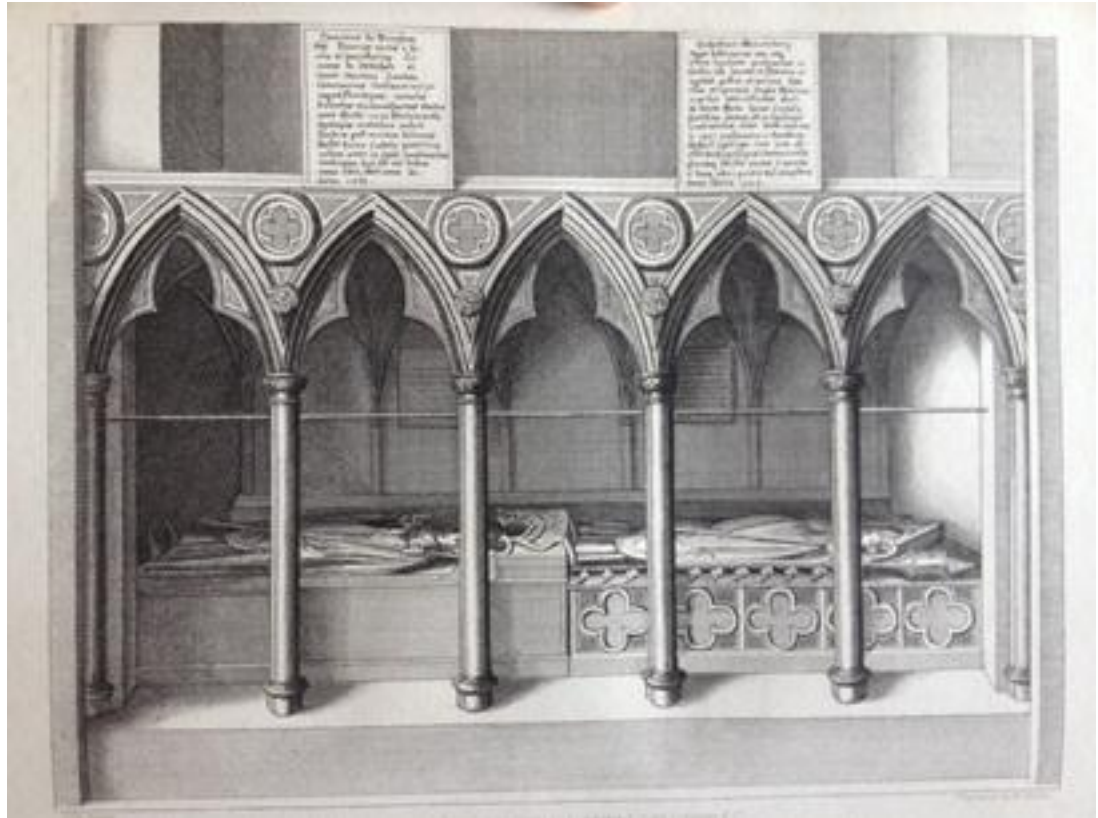


Figure 5.3: Tomb of Eustace de Fauconberg (right) (d. 1228) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 55.

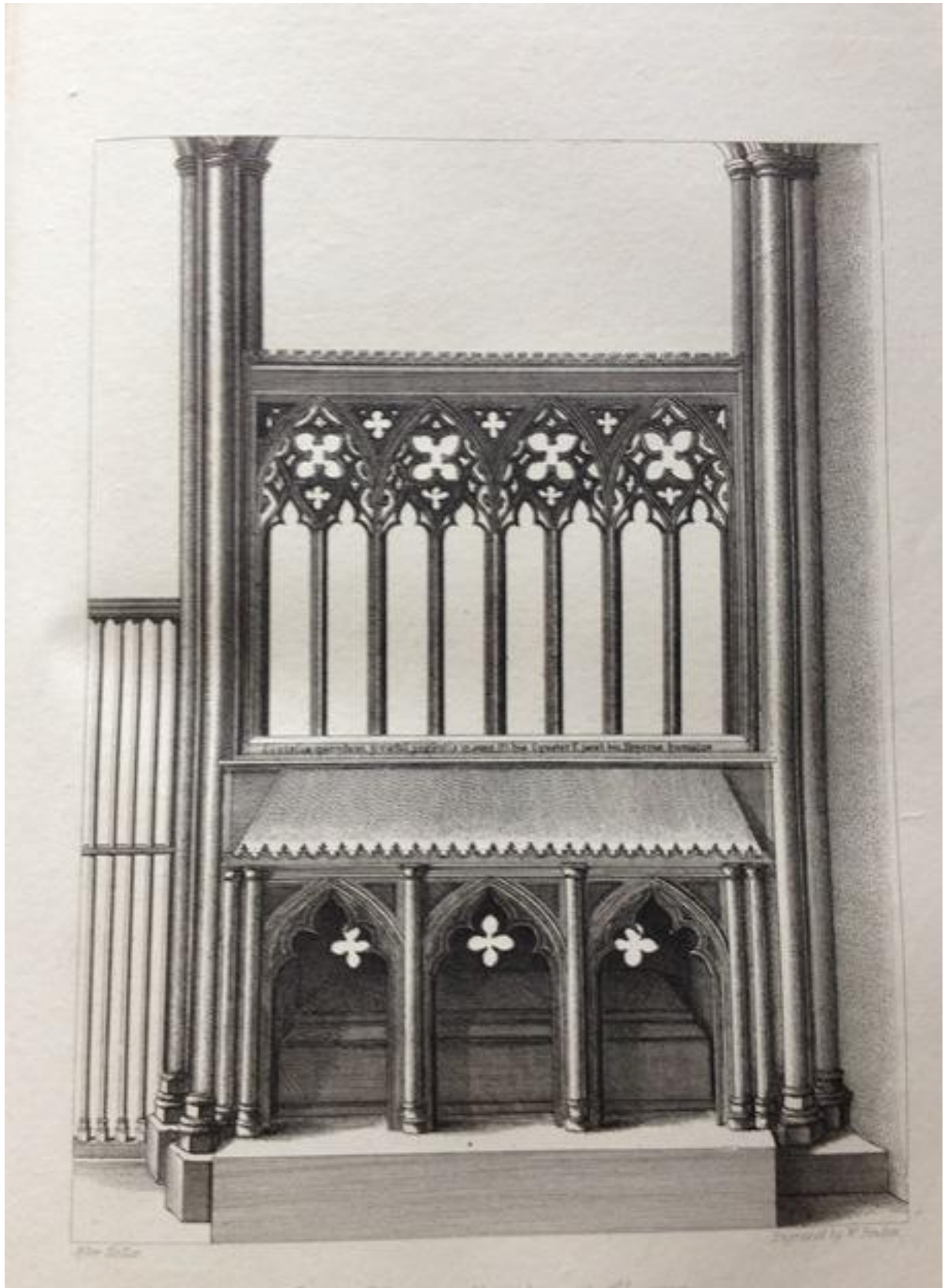


Figure 5.4: Tomb of Roger Niger (d. 1241) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 58.



Figure 5.5: Brass of Robert Braybroke (d. 1404) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 57.



Figure 5.6: Brass of Robert Fitz-hugh (d. 1436) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 45.



Figure 5.7: Tomb of Thomas Kempe (d. 1489) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), between 28 and 29.



Figure 5.8: Brass of Ralph de Hengham (d. 1311) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 68.

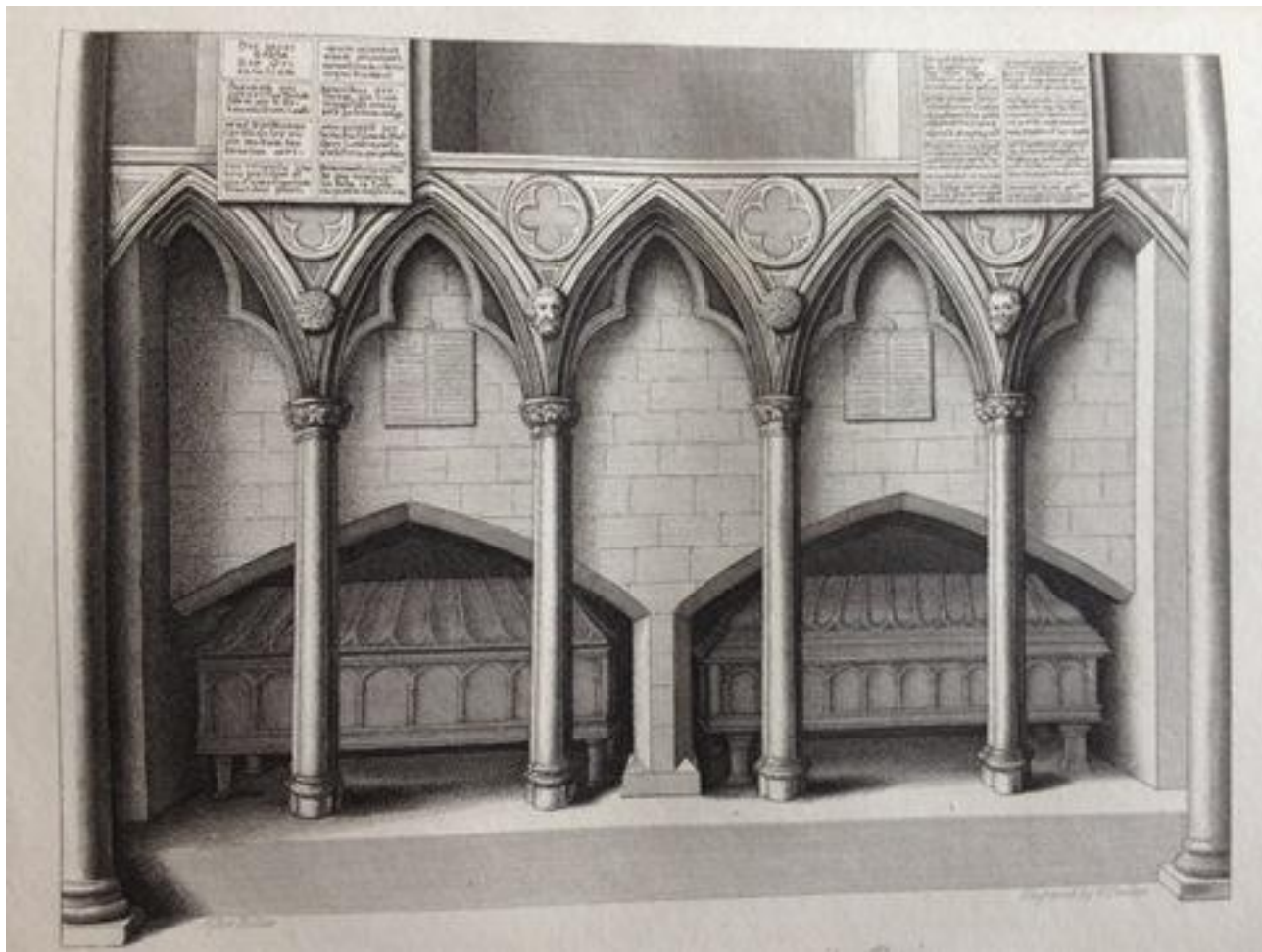


Figure 5.9: Tombs for Kings Saebbi (d. 694) (left) and Ethelred (d. 1016) (right) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 64.





Figure 5.11: Tomb for Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln (d. 1311) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 57.

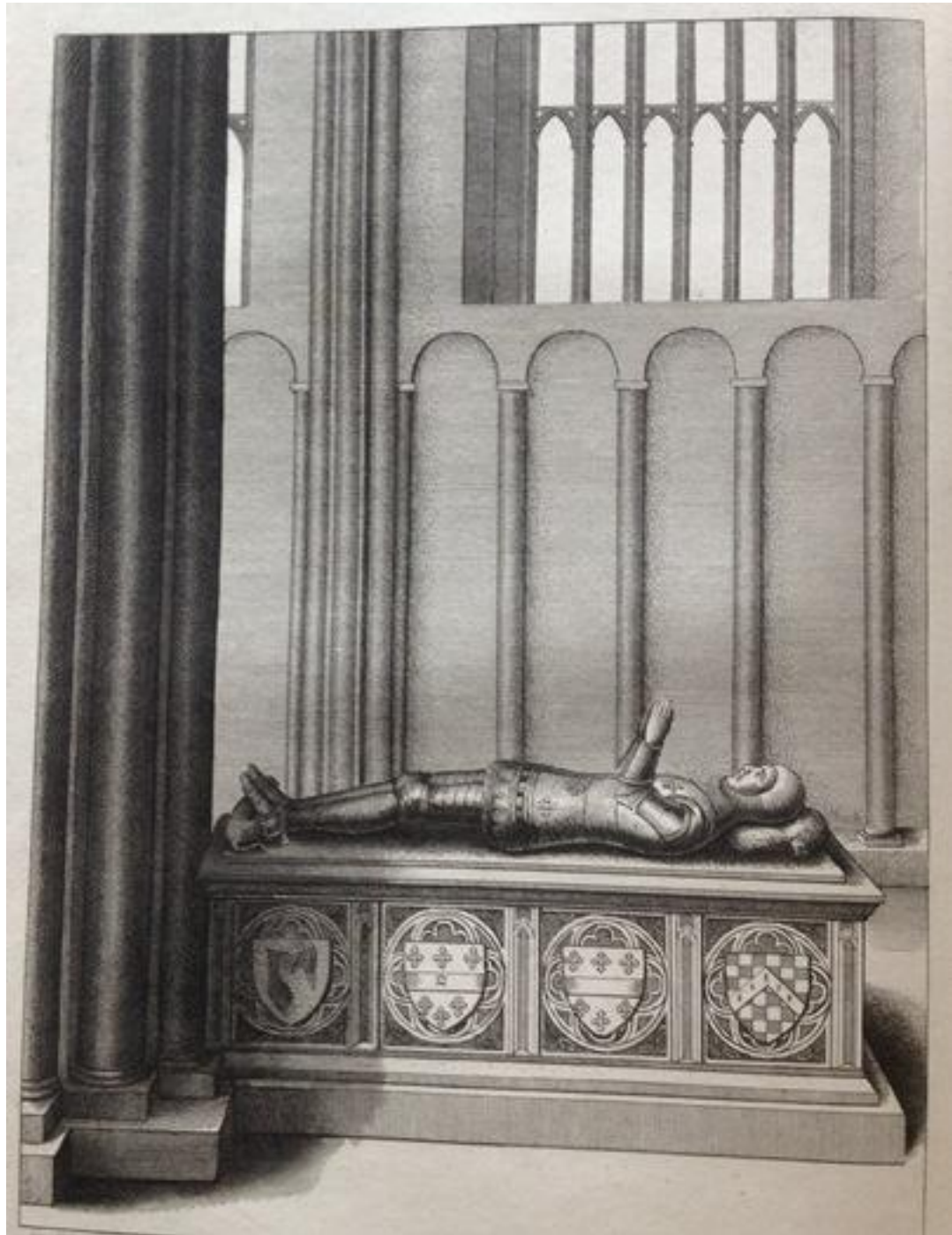


Figure 5.12: Tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, Lord Beauchamp of Warwick (d. 1360)
(*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*, opposite 38.

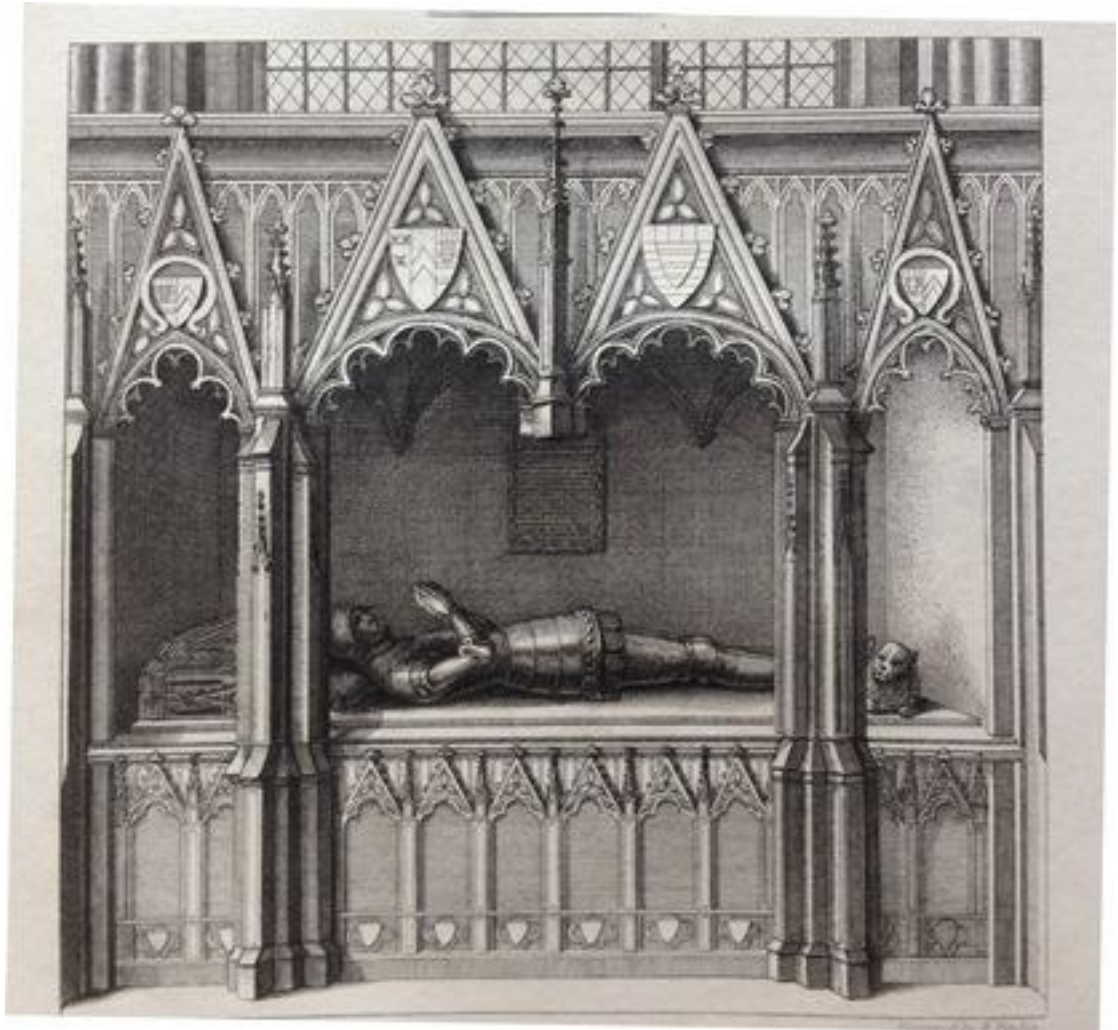


Figure 5.13: Tomb of Sir Richard Burley, K.G. (d. 1409) (*The History of St Paul's Cathedral*), opposite 68.

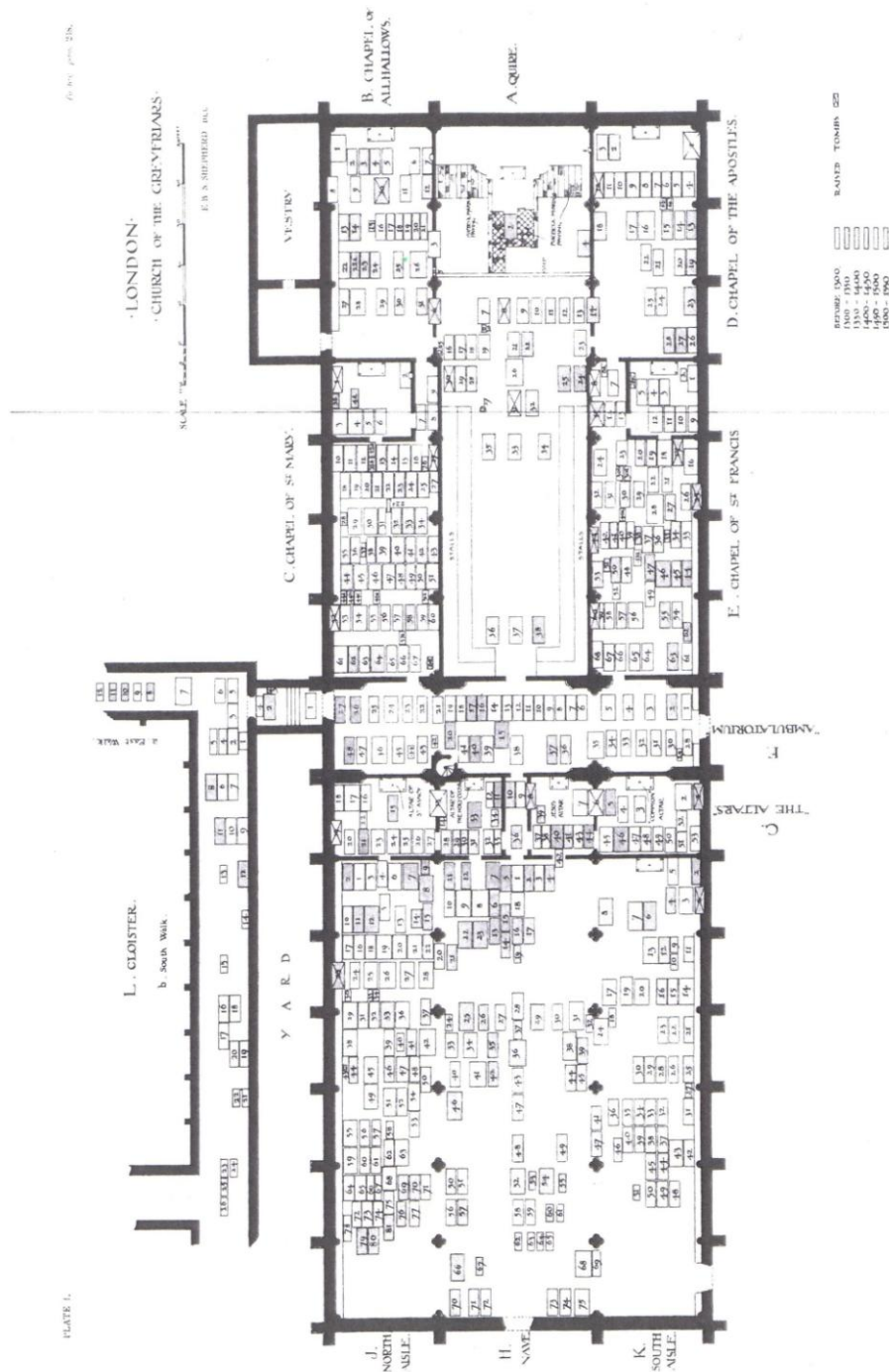


Figure 6.1: Grave map from the London Grey Friars, taken from E.B.S. Shepherd, 'The Church of the Friars Minor', *Archaeological Journal*, 59 (1902).

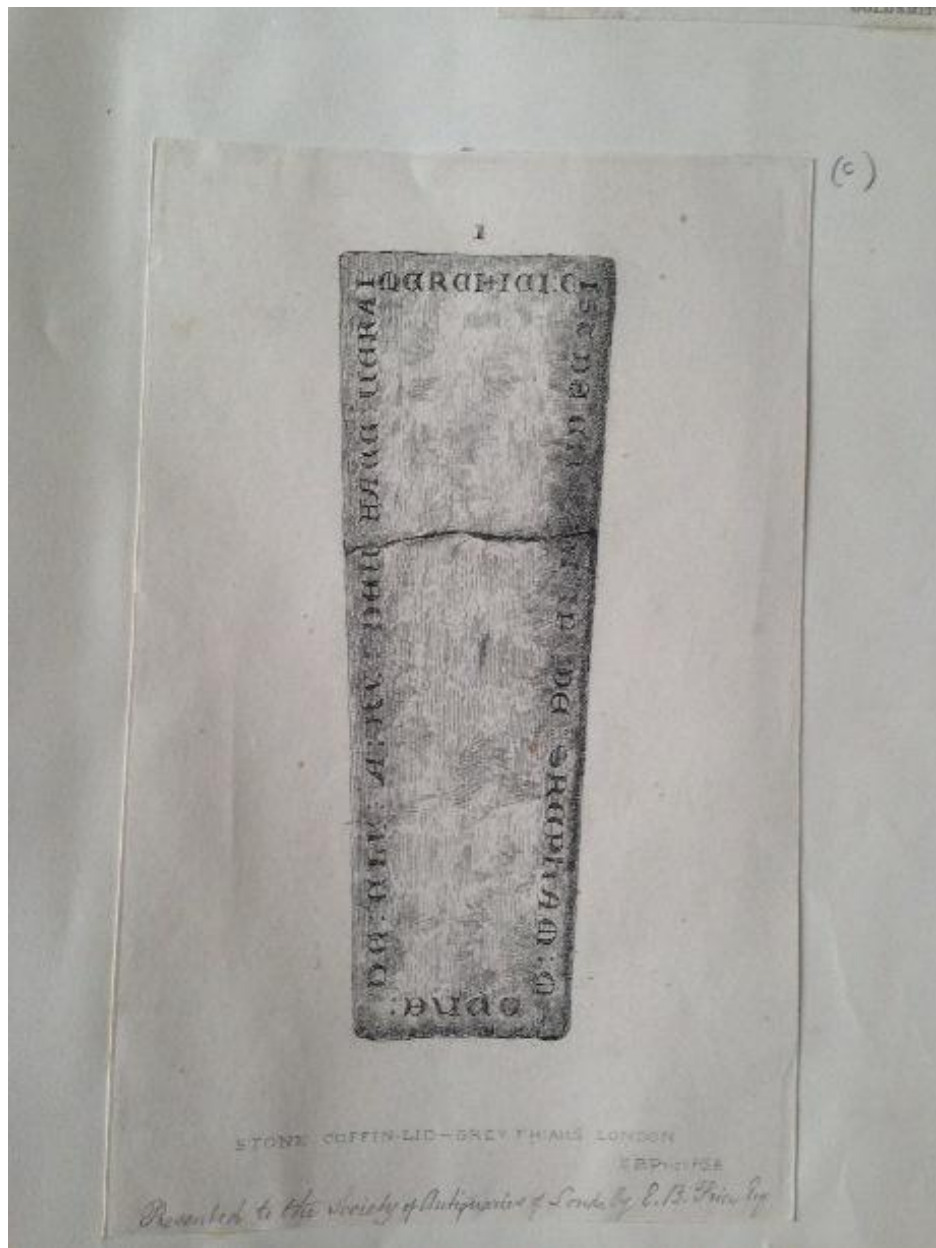
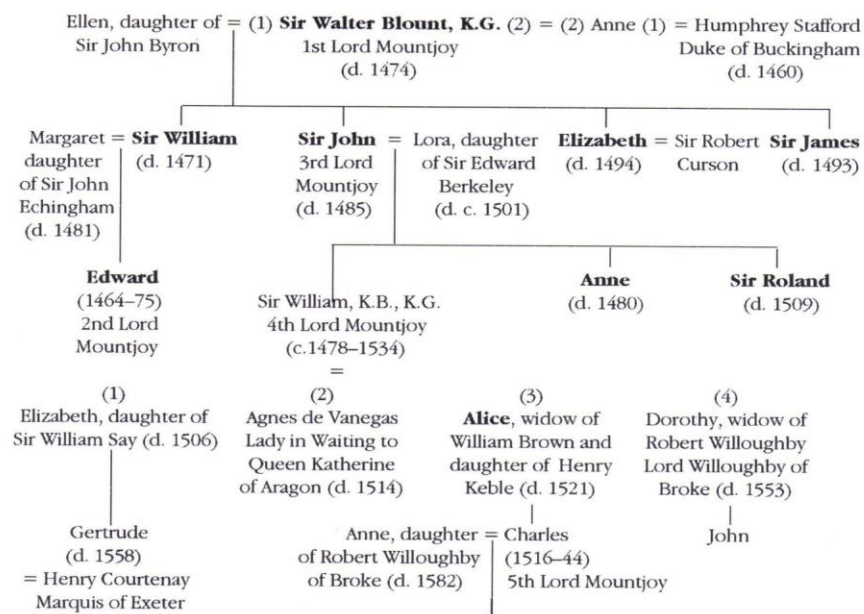


Figure 6.2: Indent of Philip de Srepham, monk of Ely (c. 1300), London Grey Friars (Society of Antiquaries, London, London Red Portfolio, 2, f. 32).



Figure 6.3: The effigy of Sir Stephen Jennings (d. 1523), London Grey Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 86r).



Family Tree of the Blount Family (names in bold are those buried at Grey Friars).

Figure 6.4: Family tree of the Blount family.



Figure 7.2: The effigy of Sir Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand (d. 1508), London Black Friars (BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 82r).

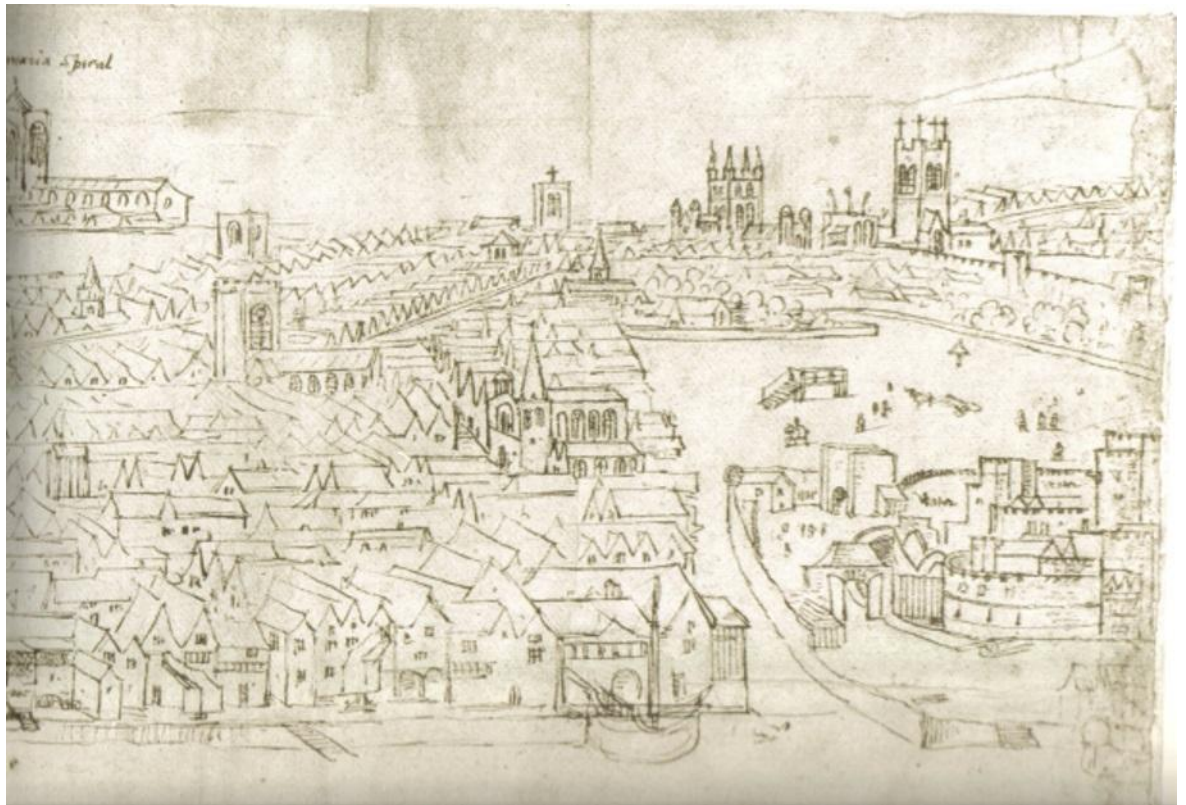


Figure 8.1: The Panorama of London c. 1544 by Anthony van den Wyngaerde reproduced from the London Topographical Society, 151 (1996), drawing 9.



Figure 8.2: Brass of Walter Curson (d. 1527) and his wife Isabel, St Mary the Virgin, Waterperry (Oxfordshire) which reused the brass of Simon (d. 1442) and Margaret (d. 1442) Kemp otherwise Camp. Photograph: author.



Figure 8.3: The brass of William (d. 1439) and Alice (d. 1479) Markeby, Hospital of St Bartholomew. Photograph: author.